Daniel Lowe
Nov. 20. 1729.

THE HISTORY OF *WHIG* and *TORY*;

FROM THE

CONQUEST, *to the* PRESENT TIME.

[Price One-Shilling and Six-Pence.]

Lately Publiſhed *the Two following* BOOKS.

A DISCOURSE concerning TREASONS, and BILLS of ATTAINDER. Explaining the True and Antient Notion of *Treaſon*; and ſhewing, The Natural Juſtice of *Bills of Attainder*. Containing the CASES of *Peter de Gaveſton*; The Two *Spenſers*; *Roger Mortimer*; The Lord *Berkeley*; Sir *Thomas Talbot*; The Earl of *Salisbury*; Sir *Thomas Haxey*; The Duke of *Hereford*; Sir *John Mortimer*; Arch-Biſhop *Arundel*; *John Hall*; *Robert de Vere*; and the Earl of *Strafford*.

[Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*]

EPISCOPAL TRAYTORS: Or, *Prieſts* aukward *Politicians*. Exemplified in the Behaviour of the *Political Prelacy*; more particularly of the Attempts of Arch-Bp. *Laud*; And his Equivocal *Exit*. Occaſion'd by the Commitment of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. With ſome Account and Character of that Prelate.

[Price 6 *d.*]

THE HISTORY OF *WHIG* and *TORY*;

FROM THE

Conqueſt, *to the* Preſent Time.

SHEWING,

The Riſe, Progreſs, Views, Strength, Intereſts and CHARACTERS of thoſe Two Contending PARTIES: And the great INFLUENCE they have always had over moſt COURTS in EUROPE.

WITH

Some CONSIDERATIONS upon PARTY-PARLIAMENTS, and the *too great Influence* the COURT has in ELECTIONS.

Written in *French* by Monſieur RAPIN, a Miniſter of State, reſiding in *England* for ſome Years, and Preceptor to his Grace the Duke of *Portland*.

Made Engliſh *by Mr.* OZELL.

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.XXIII.

THE

HISTORY

OF

WHIG and TORY;

FROM THE

Conquest, to the Present Time.

SHEWING

The Rise, Progress, Views, Strength, Interests, and CHARACTERS of those Two Contending PARTIES: And the great INFLUENCE they have always had over most COURTS in EUROPE.

R175g/6

Some CONSIDERATIONS upon PARTY-PARLIAMENTS, and the ever-great Influence the COURT has in ELECTIONS.

Written in French by Monsieur RAPIN, a Minister of State, residing in England for many Years, and Retirer to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

Made English by Mr. OZELL.

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.XXIII.

PREFACE.

THE two Parties or Factions that divide *England* have been a long while talk'd of; but it is only within a few Years that the reſt of *Europe* have taken Part in their Quarrel. Before the laſt Peace moſt Foreigners look'd upon the Differences that divided the *Whigs* and the *Tories* as a Matter only of Curioſity, and not at all likely to affect them. If ſome few ſeemed to give more Attention to them, it was only on Account of the Diverſity of Sentiments of the two Parties upon the Hierarchy, or Government of the Church. Theſe were the utmoſt Conceptions that the Generality of private Men among us had of the *Engliſh* Diviſions. I ſay, private

Men; for Princes and their Miniſters full well knew the Influence they might have upon the Political Affairs of *Europe*, according to the Party which governed at the Court of *England*, or in the Parliament. But of the Majority of the People, we may ſay they were utterly ignorant of the Conſequences of them.

The Peace of *Utrecht* opened the Eyes of infinite Numbers of Men; becauſe they ſaw plainly it was an effect of the Change of Miniſtry which happened at the *Engliſh* Court. As all *Europe* was engaged in the War, and of courſe concerned in the Peace that put an end to it, thoſe who before ſpoke of the Diviſions in *England* as of a Foreign Buſineſs, were now convinced what a Turn they might give to the Affairs of ſeveral other States. Since that Time, People have begun to argue and diſpute upon this Subject with greater Warmth. Nay, indeed, moſt Foreigners are become either *Whigs* or *Tories*, according as they thought they ſaw in either Party, Principles conformable or contrary to their own Intereſts. Though both *Whigs* and

Tories

Tories profeſs the Proteſtant Religion, and tho' their Differences ſeem not at all to concern either *Proteſtants* or *Roman Catholicks*, yet theſe latter have declared in favour of the *Tories*, and the *Proteſtants* in favour of the *Whigs*. The Cauſe of their ſo doing is manifeſt: It is, that the former were pleaſed with the *Tories* for labouring to ſet a *Popiſh* King upon the Throne of *England*, and that the latter believed the *Whigs* had no other Aim than to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion in that Kingdom. There is alſo another thing that moved Foreigners to eſpouſe one of the two Parties; it is the Inclination for *France*, or the Aprehenſion of that Crown's ambitious Deſigns. In this Regard, the Friends of *France* are *Tories*, and her Enemies *Whigs*. Thus every one made his Choice, without troubling himſelf any farther about the real Source or true Nature of the Differences that divide the two Parties. It is no wonder this ſhould happen among Strangers, ſince even in *England* many are *Whigs* or *Tories*, without having a clear Notion of the Party they have embrac'd. It

It is a little Surprizing, that no Body yet has taken the Pains to inform the Publick exactly of every thing relating to these two Parties; which, by the Superiority the one or the other of them gets in *England*, are capable of altering the Face of the most important Affairs in *Europe*. 'Tis true, we have had Translations of several *English* Books, or rather *Libels*, written upon this Subject: But it is not from them that we must expect to learn the true State of the Affairs of the two Parties. Those Pieces were published either by *Whigs* or by *Tories*, and consequently by Authors that we may justly suspect of Partiality: Neither is there one of them that does not shew its Author to have a Tincture of it. A Foreigner therefore is the most likely Man to give an impartial Account of this Matter; tho', to own the Truth, few Foreigners are sufficiently acquainted with it, or are wholly free from an Inclination to one of the Parties. Yet, the Author of this *Dissertation*, tho' a Foreigner, believes he is able to give a more extensive Knowledge of the two Parties

Parties than moſt People have of them at preſent. He reſided no ſmall Time in *England*, and has for ſeveral Years made the Hiſtory of that Kingdom his particular Study. Moreover, neither his Inclination nor his Intereſt has attached him to either of the two Parties, and he is now in a Country where he has nothing to fear or hope from one or t'other. The *Diſſertation* it ſelf will afford convincing Proofs of his Impartiality. To give a diſtinct Notion of all Things relating to the two Parties, he was obliged to enter into a pretty long Narration of the Hiſtory of *England*, without which it had been impoſſible to explain fully the Riſe and Progreſs of thoſe two Factions.

If the *Engliſh* think this *Diſſertation* too ſhort in ſome reſpects, and in others too long, they are deſir'd to conſider, that it was not writ for them only; the Author all along deſigned to confine himſelf to general Ideas: And, laſtly, Things which in *England* are underſtood by every Body, cannot here be conceived without Explanation.

Some

Some may, perhaps, think it ſtrange that the Author, who was born the Subject of a Government purely Monarchical, ſhou'd upon ſome Occaſions write in ſuch a Manner, as may induce People to believe he does not approve that ſort of Conſtitution. To prevent this Suſpicion, he deſires the Reader to remember, that he cou'd not ſpeak pertinently upon this Subject, without putting on the Spirit of an *Engliſhman*, and conforming himſelf to the Principles that are common in *England*. It was by this Means only, that he imagined he cou'd find out the Wiſdom or Weakneſs of the two Parties. All his Arguments are grounded upon this Principle, of the Truth whereof he is intirely convinced: *That every private Man is obliged, in Conſcience, to conform to the Government eſtabliſhed in the Country wherein Providence has placed him.* So that it is his Opinion, that all the Intrigues, all the Cabals, all the Means, direct or indirect, which tend to the Diſſolution of that Government, are ſo many Crimes for which the Perpetrators are anſwerable to GOD, and their Superiors.

AN

A DISSERTATION UPON THE ORIGIN OF THE *Government of* England.

THE Government of *England* is of a particular kind, and the only one of the Sort in the World. 'Tis nevertheleſs the ſame that was formerly ſettled in all the Kingdoms formed in *Europe*, out of the *Roman* Empire. The Difference that there now is between *England* and other Nations in that reſpect, proceeds from this; the *Engliſh* have preſerved the Form of their Government, ever ſince they have been fixed in *Great Britain*;

whereas in other Countries, it has been by little and little totally loſt, or extreamly changed. This Government, which has ſo long ſubſiſted in that Iſland, ſeems in ſome regards Monarchical, and in others Republican ; and yet, properly ſpeaking, it is neither. It cannot be called purely Monarchical, ſince the Nobles and the People ſhare the Legiſlative Power with the King, and the King can impoſe no Tax without the People's Conſent : Nor is it Republican ; ſince it owns a King who exerciſes the Sovereign Authority, who confers Offices and Honours, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil and Military, according to his Will and Pleaſure ; and who can make War or Peace without being obliged to conſult his Subjects. It would therefore be in vain to pretend to give a Notion of this Government by the ordinary Names of *Monarchical*, *Ariſtocratical*, *Democratical* ; none of which are at all adequate to it : It is a mixt Government ; it is neither of thoſe above-named, but a Compoſition of all the Three. The Prerogatives of the Sovereign, of the Nobles, and of the People, are corrected by each other, in ſuch a manner, that they are one another's mutual Support ; and at the ſame time, either of theſe Three Powers can lay invincible Obſtacles in the way of whatever Enterprizes one of the other Two, or even both together, cou'd form to make themſelves Independent. In ſhort,

'tis very near the ſame Form of Government, that the *Saxons* had eſtabliſh'd in *Germany*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*, the *Viſigoths* in *Spain*, the *Oſtrogoths*, and after them the *Lombards*, in *Italy*. It was the *Northern* Nations that carried it into the moſt *Southern* Parts of *Europe*, when they ſettled themſelves there, and raiſed new States out of the Wrecks of the *Roman* Empire.

If it ſhould be asked, how long this Government has ſubſiſted in *England*? I dare venture to anſwer, Ever ſince the *Anglo-Saxons* had compleated the Conqueſt of that part of *Great Britain* which their Deſcendants now poſſeſs. 'Tis true, there is room to doubt, whether in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the Commons were a part of the Parliament; and I own this Point is very hard to be reſolved: But, be that as it will, at the Time when *England* was divided into Seven Kingdoms, part *Engliſh*, and part *Saxon*, each of thoſe Kingdoms had its King and its Parliament, which was call'd *Wittena-Gemot*, that is, *The Aſſembly of the Wiſe Men*; and there was even One of the ſame kind for the Affairs which the Seven Kingdoms had in common. This Form of Government ſtill remain'd when the Seven Kingdoms were united into One. The *Fields of Mars*, (which ſome too call'd the Fields of *March*, becauſe held at firſt in that Month) or of *May*, in *France*, afterwards called the *States*; the *Cortes* in *Spain*,

and perhaps the *Dyets of the Empire* in *Germany*, are Remains of that ancient Form of Government which the *Northern* Nations carried into all the Countries where they fixed themſelves.

William the Conqueror having ſubdued *England* in the Year 1066, made himſelf abſolute Lord of it, and ſet up a Deſpotic Government, tho' he ſtill preſerved the Shadow and Appearance of a Parliament. To ſecure his Conqueſt, he brought over a great Number of *Norman*, *French*, *Breton*, and *Angevin* Families, whom he enriched with the Eſtates which he daily ſtript the *Engliſh* of. Theſe foreign Families increaſed very faſt, and became at laſt ſo powerful, that they were able to make Head againſt the Kings themſelves that ſucceeded the Conqueror. At the beginning, thoſe Foreigners, being but newly ſettled in *England*, made it their Glory to depend ſolely upon the King who had put them in Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates. Their Intereſt obliged them to ſupport with their whole Force, the Right by which they held all the Wealth they enjoy'd in the Kingdom. But when, at length, they found themſelves firmly rooted, they began to apprehend that the Royal Power which had enrich'd them, might with the ſame Eaſe, impoveriſh them again, whenever a King ſhould think fit ſo to do. For this Reaſon, they wiſh'd the Government might be reſtored to the ſame Foot upon which it

was in the time of the *Saxon* Kings. This was the only way to avoid the Inconveniences of a Tyranny, which might grow to be as Hurtful to them as it had been Advantageous, and to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates. At firſt theſe were only Wiſhes, but they ſoon turned to Hopes, and at laſt became a Right, by the Means which I ſhall relate immediately. To ſet this Matter in its moſt extenſive Light, would require a long Train of Particulars, and a minute Diſcuſſion of the Cauſes which contributed to inveſt firſt the Nobles, and afterwards the Body of the People, with a Right which they did not enjoy under the firſt *Norman* Kings. But as this Detail would lead me too far, I ſhall content my ſelf with giving a ſmall Abridgement of thoſe Articles only which relate more directly to the Subject in hand.

William the Conqueror left the Kingdom of *England* to *William*, his ſecond Son, Sirnamed *Rufus*, * to the Prejudice of his eldeſt Son *Robert*, who had only *Normandy* for his Inheritance. *Robert* made ſome Offers to diveſt his Brother of a Crown which he thought himſelf unjuſtly excluded from: But *William* made them ineffectual, by having the Art to tye both *Normans* and *Engliſh* to his Intereſt, by means of promiſing to re-eſtabliſh the Go-

* *In* 1087.

vernment

vernment upon the ſame Baſis whereon it ſtood before the Conqueſt, and to revive the *Saxon* Laws. He knew that they both deſired nothing more earneſtly than what he then gave them Hopes of : By the *Normans*, I mean here, all the Foreigners that were newly ſettled in *England*. This Promiſe of *William Rufus*, was thus the firſt Ground of their Pretenſions. I ſay the firſt ; for the *Normans* had no Right to ask of the King what he was now pleaſed to promiſe them ; and the *Engliſh*, having been Vanquiſh'd, could not pretend to ſet Bounds to the Power of their Conqueror. 'Tis true, theſe latter might inſiſt upon certain ſlight Promiſes, which *William* the Conqueror had made them when he received their firſt Homages : But that Prince never intended they ſhould build a Right upon thoſe Promiſes ; and accordingly, he always treated *England* as a Conquer'd Country. But let this be as it will, *William Rufus* broke his Word, and diſappointed them All.

After the Death of that Prince, his younger Brother *Henry* the I. aſcended the Throne (†) tho' his Elder Brother *Robert* was ſtill alive. To ſecure his Uſurpation, he took the Meaſures, as his Predeceſſor *William Rufus* had done before. He promis'd to put

---

(†) 1100.

the

the Government upon the ancient Foot, and confirmed his Promiſe by a Charter drawn in an authentick Manner; but he kept his Word with no more exactneſs than his Brother. Yet the Rights of the Subjects were very much ſtrengthened by theſe Promiſes, tho' they were ſo ill executed.

Henry the I. being dead, his Daughter *Mathilda*, the Emperor *Henry* the Vth's Widow, and who was re-marry'd to *Geofrey Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, ought to have fill'd the Throne; but *Stephen*, Earl of *Boulogne*, Son to *William* the Conqueror's Eldeſt Daughter, found means to place himſelf in it in her wrong. (*) This laſt bound himſelf more ſtrongly than his two Predeceſſors to reſtore the *Saxon* Government, tho' in all appearance he never really meant to keep his Word. The Nobles, finding he ſought pretences to elude his Engagements, made violent War upon him, which laſted almoſt his whole Reign. In the beginning of it, they invited into *England* the Empreſs *Mathilda*, and afterwards her Son *Henry*, whom ſhe had by the Earl of *Anjou*, and they continued the War, till they procured a Treaty, which ſettled the Crown upon *Henry*, after the Death of *Stephen*, tho' this latter had Male Children of his own.

(*) 1135.

Henry

Henry the IId. ſucceeded *Stephen*: (†) During his Reign, and that of his Eldeſt Son *Richard* the Iſt. there was no Difference between the King and the Barons: But there were very conſiderable ones in the Reign of *John* (*) the Brother and Succeſſor of *Richard* the Iſt. A terrible Rupture, that this Prince had with the Court of *Rome*, having at laſt conſtrained him to do Homage for his Kingdom to Pope *Innocent* the IIId. and to enter into an Agreement to pay him Tribute; this ſhameful Submiſſion, conjunctively with ſeveral other Cauſes, entirely alienated the Eſteem and Affection of his People. The Barons laying hold of this favourable Opportunity, preſented him *Henry* the Iſt's Charter, which had remained unexecuted, and wou'd oblige him to confirm it. *John* at firſt rejected it with great Scorn; but at length, finding himſelf too weak to reſiſt the Barons, who were almoſt all confederated againſt him, he was under a neceſſity of granting them a much more ample Charter, and more advantageous to the Subject, than that of *Henry* the I. and this was called *Magna Charta*, or the *Charter of Liberties*. By this Charter, which was drawn juſt as the Barons pleaſed, they ſo bridled the King's Power, that they reduced it very near to the ſame Condition it was in

---

(†) 1154.
(*) John *began his Reign in* 1199.

under

under the *Saxon* Kings, before the Conqueſt. 'Tis this Charter that has been ever ſince, and is ſtill look'd upon as the chief Foundation of the Rights of the Subject. I ſhall not ſtay to examin whether this Foundation is very ſolid. 'Tis a Queſtion which I am not Learned enough to decide. 'Twill be ſufficient to obſerve in few Words, by what Means this Conceſſion, which ſeemed ſo defective at its Origin, being manifeſtly extorted by Force, changed its very Nature in time, thro' the Firmneſs and Conſtancy of the *Engliſh*, and acquired an inconteſtible Authority, tho' at firſt it might have been diſputed. For this purpoſe, we muſt look back upon what paſs'd afterwards in relation to this Charter.

King *John*, who had Sign'd it, having gone about to revoke it, drew upon himſelf new Misfortunes, which laſted as long as he lived. The Barons, who were reſolved not to loſe the Advantages of their Charter, had recourſe to the deſperate Remedy of calling to their Aſſiſtance, Prince *Louis*, Son of *Philip Auguſtus*, King of *France*; and of putting him in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, or at leaſt of the greateſt part of it. K. *John* dyed during this War, bereft of all his Royalty by a foreign Prince, or rather by his own Subjects, and left behind him a Son no more than ten Years old, and conſequently unable to proſecute the Quarrel; ſome Lords, who had continued Faithful to the laſt King,

choſe the Earl of *Pembroke* Regent, during the Minority of the young Prince, who was acknowledg'd by that ſmall Party, by the Name of *Henry* the III. (†)

In a little while after this, Affairs took another Turn, thro' the prudent Conduct of the Regent, who finding the Barons ſtrongly fixed to defend their Charter, gave them a poſitive Promiſe that it ſhould be confirmed and executed. They had no ſooner obtained this Aſſurance, but they quitted Prince *Louis*, who was thereupon obliged to return into *France*.

Henry the III. as ſoon as ever he was of Age, anulled the *Magna Charta*, and was reſolved to Reign deſpotically. But as he had not Capacity enough to go thro' with ſuch an Undertaking, his long Forty Years Reign was a perpetual Series of Troubles upon account of the Charter. He was ſeveral times conſtrained to confirm it, and he as often violated his Oaths and Promiſes: So that at laſt the Barons took up Arms, and put themſelves under the Conduct of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Son to the famous *Simon de Monfort*, General of the *Cruſade* againſt the *Albigenſes*. * The King had the Misfortune to loſe a Bat-

(†) 1216.

(*) *He was a younger Son of* Simon de Monfort's. *He was invited over into* England *by this very* Henry *III. and even Married a Siſter of the King's.*

tel,

tel, where Himſelf, the King of the *Romans*, his Brother, and his Son Prince *Edward*, were made Priſoners, and put in the Power of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who made them promiſe upon Oath, that they wou'd never oppoſe the Execution of the *Magna Charta*. The Earl of *Leiceſter* Govern'd for ſome Time in the Name of the King, who was in his Hands. 'Tis ſaid, it was under his Adminiſtration that the Commons were firſt admitted into Parliament; but without digreſſing to decide ſo knotty a Queſtion, I ſhall only obſerve, that at leaſt no Body can deny, that ever ſince the end of *Henry* the IIId's Reign, the Commons have always enjoy'd that Privilege.

Prince *Edward*, Son of *Henry* the IIId, having had the Luck to eſcape out of the Hands of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, won a Battel, wherein that Earl was ſlain. The King his Father by this Victory recover'd his Liberty; and made uſe of it not at all conformably to the Oath that had been exacted from him: But his Reign and Life laſted very few Years after his Deliverance. Tho' the Party of the Barons was brought very low, yet *Edward* the I. who aſcended the Throne after his Father *Henry* the III. (†) did notwithſtanding his Superiority confirm the *Magna Charta*. However, afterwards, he took ſome Steps

(†) 1272.

which indicated a Deſign formed to revoke it; but finding the Barons begun to ſtir, he quitted the Enterprize, and confirmed it once more.

His Son and Succeſſor *Edward* the IId, (*) was depoſed by the Parliament, for having endeavour'd to ſet up a Deſpotic Government contrary to *Magna Charta*.

Edward the IIId, Son and Succeſſor to that unfortunate Prince, (†) confirmed it Ten Times during the Courſe of his Reign, which was extreamly Glorious in the Victories which Himſelf and his Son the Prince of *Wales* won over *France*.

Richard the IId, Grandſon and Succeſſor of *Edward* the IIId, (‖) was depoſed with great Solemnity, for having in ſeveral Reſpects, broke in upon the Privileges of the People, founded upon *Magna Charta*.

Henry the IVth, who made uſe of that Handle to dethrone *Richard* the IId, and ſet himſelf up in his Place, (**) did himſelf make ſome Attempt to diminiſh the Prerogatives of Parliament. But he did not think fit to puſh the Execution of this Project too far.

Henry the Vth (his Son who ſucceeded him) (††) conſtantly maintain'd the Parliament in all its Privileges, and never meddled with

---

(*) 1307. (†) 1327. (‖) 1377. (**) 1399. (††) 1413.

the

the Rights of the Subject. His Reign was a continual Series of Victories and Succeſs againſt *France*. This Prince dyed in the Year 1422.

From that Time the Government of *England* ſtood ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd upon its main Foundations; I mean, upon the Prerogatives of the King, and the Privileges of the Parliament, that for near two Hundred Years, no King ſeemed to have the leaſt Thought of making an Attempt to ſhake it. All their Policy was confined to Govern the Parliament by ſecret Intrigues, without ſhewing any Deſire of changing the ſettled Conſtitution of the Government. It is true, that there have been Kings (*Henry* the VIIIth for Example) who have done whatever they pleaſed; but never by robbing the Parliament of its Rights: On the contrary, it was by maintaining it in its Privileges, that they had the Art to make it ſerve their Purpoſes: Which, by the way, is the beſt and perhaps the only Means by which a King of *England* can make himſelf Powerful and Eaſy.

After ſo long a Continuance of the ſame Form of Government, and ſo uninterrupted a Poſſeſſion of the Privileges of *Magna Charta*, the *Engliſh* Nation became ſo accuſtomed to it, that it appear'd to be impoſſible to make the leaſt Alteration of it, without ſetting the whole Kingdom in a Flame: There was not ſo much as a likelyhood, that a King ſhou'd

ever

ever again undertake ſo difficult a Project, with the Hazard of loſing his Crown, as ſome of the preceding Kings had done. But notwithſtanding all this, *James* the Iſt, the Succeſſor of Queen *Elizabeth*, (*) ventur'd ſome Steps in this dangerous Courſe, and attempted to diminiſh the Prerogatives of Parliament. 'Twas by the pernicious Advice of his Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, that He began to engage himſelf in this Undertaking, which, in all probability, wou'd in the end have turn'd greatly to his Diſadvantage, if Death had not ſurpriz'd him before he had given too much Suſpicion of his Deſign. This Duke of *Buckingham* ought to be look'd upon as the firſt Author of the Troubles which have thrown *England* into ſuch furious Convulſions for ſo many Years, and which diſturb it at this Day.

It was in the Reign of *Charles* the Iſt, the Son and Succeſſor of *James*, (†) that the Project of rendering the King Abſolute and Independent of the Laws, was warmly puſhed; and all the Sails were ſpread to make Way as faſt as poſſible. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who was *Charles*'s Favourite, as he had been his Father's, fill'd his Head with Maxims directly contrary to the Government eſtabliſh'd in *England*, and by that Means

(*) 1603. (†) 1625.

was

was the Cauſe of his Ruin : And after that Duke was Aſſaſſinated, *Charles* continued to proſecute the Deſign wherein his deceaſed Favourite had embark'd him. He had got a Notion that he might Govern without Parliaments ; or, at leaſt, that Parliaments had nothing further to do, than to furniſh him with Money. He diſſolved Three, before he had reigned four Years, and gave the Nation to underſtand that he intended to call no more. Twelve Years paſſed at this rate of Governing without Parliaments ; during which Time, the King laid Impoſitions upon his Subjects, on divers Pretences, merely by an Act of his Will and Pleaſure ; ſo that now every Body ſaw he intended to Reign Deſpotically. Unfortunately for him, he had taken too near to his Perſon, two Men who had imbib'd the ſame falſe Maxims, and who drove him nearer and nearer to the Precipice. Theſe were *William Laud*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*.

While this Prince was not engag'd in any Troubles Abroad, he quietly enjoy'd the Power he had uſurped ; but not without the open Murmurs of the People : Yet no Body was found that durſt ſtand in the Way of a Torrent that ruſh'd on with prodigious Violence. But at length, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* having counſell'd him to eſtabliſh Hierarchy in the Church of *Scotland*, and to cauſe

cauſe Divine Service to be performed there, after the manner of the Church of *England*, he was ſo weak as to follow that pernicious Advice: But it was impoſſible to execute his Project, without coming to a Rupture with his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*. (*) He raiſed Troops, and maintain'd them by means of the Taxes which he had impoſed by his own Authority. Money failing him, after the firſt Campaign, he at laſt called a Parliament, (†) which was diſſolved in a few Days, for the ſame Cauſe as the Three former ones, and the arbitrary Impoſitions went on as before. But it was not long before the King perceived, that the Continuation of the Power he had aſſumed, depended wholly upon the good Succeſs of his Arms. It was but an unwilling Obedience the People paid him. The Nobles retired from Court upon various Pretences. The Validity of his Orders for levying Taxes, was openly conteſted in Town and Country. In ſhort, where-ever the King turn'd his Eyes, he could ſee nothing but Subjects ready to deſert him upon the firſt Occaſion.

This Occaſion offer'd ſooner than he apprehended. His Army being defeated, and the *Scots* having made themſelves Maſters of *Newcaſtle*, he was now put to contrive Means

(*) 1639. (†) *April*, 1640.

to

to drive them out of *England*; whereas he had been in Hopes of making himſelf Abſolute and Uncontroulable in *Scotland*. But he was ſo far from finding his *Engliſh* Subjects inclined to aſſiſt him, that on the contrary, he ſaw they rejoiced at his Diſgrace, and looked upon it as an Opportunity for them to recover their Privileges. In this Strait he aſſembled the Lords at *York*, in order to conſult what was moſt convenient to be done. The unanimous Opinion of this Aſſembly was, that the King cou'd no otherwiſe retrieve theſe falſe Meaſures, but by calling a Parliament. Then he perceived too plainly, that it was not an Interval of Fifteen Years cou'd blot from the Minds of the *Engliſh*, the remembrance of their Parliaments, which they eſteemed as the firmeſt Support of their Liberty. He was convinced there was an abſolute Neceſſity to follow the Advice of the Lords in calling a Parliament. (*)

The Diſpoſition the People were in towards the King, made them chuſe ſuch Members as were in greateſt Repute for Ability, Courage, and Firmneſs to the Privileges and Immunities of the Subject. When this Parliament met, inſtead of going upon Means to repel

(*) *To meet the* 13*th of* November, 1640. Note, *Before the Lords were met at* York, *he had Intimation that they wou'd be for calling a Parliament; ſo for his own Honour, He propoſed it firſt himſelf.*

the *Scots*, as the King hoped, they thought, that firſt of all they ought to ſecure the Liberties of the Nation, and ſet Bounds to the illegal Authority which the King had appropriated to himſelf for the Fifteen Years laſt paſt. They had no ſooner ſhewn this Reſolution, but the whole Body of the People turn'd of their Side, and the King was left ſo deſtitute of Adherents, that he found he was not in a Condition to make Reſiſtance. The only Courſe that remained for him to take, was to ſubmit to the Will of the Parliament, and paſs almoſt all the Bills that were brought into the Houſe to bridle his Power. By this Condeſcenſion he hoped to perſwade his Subjects, that he really intended for the future to adhere to the antient Laws, which ill Counſel had induced him to break; and perhaps he did really mean ſo to do; but the Nation did not believe it. On the contrary, it was the general Perſwaſion, that it was only Neceſſity obliged him to act in a Manner ſo different from what he had done before. Thus the mutual Confidence which ought to be kept up between the King and Subject, being entirely broke, the Parliament was reſolved not to depend upon the Faith of a Prince, whom they thought they had very good Reaſon to diſtruſt. They laboured therefore inceſſantly to put the Rights of the People out of all Danger for Time to come. In this View, they were not ſatisfy'd with making

the

the King paſs ſuch Acts as reduced the Regal Power to its antient Limits; but proceeded even to force his Aſſent to Laws which conſiderably diminiſhed the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown. The Partiſans of the Parliament did not ſcruple to ſay, that the Subject cou'd never be ſafe, unleſs the King was made uncapable of doing again what he had done before: So that this Prince, who had hoped to carry the Regal Authority higher than any of his Predeceſſors, was on the contrary, ſtript of great Part of the Power which was veſted in him by the Laws of the Land. He had even the Mortification of being conſtrained to Sign a dead Warrant for the Earl of *Strafford*, (*) who had done nothing but by his Order, or with his Approbation. The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* too was afterwards brought to the Block. (†)

If the Parliament had been contented with re-eſtabliſhing the Government upon its antient Foundations, 'tis very likely it had never afterwards been eaſily ſhaken. But 'tis very hard to obſerve a juſt Medium upon ſuch Occaſions. The chief Leaders of that Aſſembly, thro' an eager Deſire to fence themſelves againſt the Enterprizes of the Regal Power, made ſuch Changes in the antient Government, (deſpoiling the Crown of the beſt part of her Rights) that it was hardly to be

(*) *May* 1641. (†) 1644.

known for the ſame. It was no longer the King and Parliament that govern'd the Kingdom; 'twas the Parliament alone, or rather, only the Lower Houſe, that ruled ALL. The Upper Houſe had nothing further to do, than to paſs without a Negative, the Bills that were brought from below, and the King was now no more than the Shadow of a Sovereign. But this was the very Thing that won him Friends; which he had infallibly been without, if the Ballance had been held with a ſteddy Hand. Many People were no leſs ſurprized, that the Parliament ſhould offer to govern without a King, than they had been diſpleaſed at the King's diſpenſing with the Uſe of Parliaments. The Conſtitution of the Government was no leſs disfigured by the one than by the other. But what ſent yet greater Numbers to the King's Party, was, that the Parliament, to fix the *Scots* in their Intereſt, became infatuated with the Project of changing the Government of the Church of *England*, into that of a Presbyterian Kirk, and this Deſign they with a high Hand put in Execution. The major Part of the *Engliſh* being accuſtomed to ſee the Church under the Direction of Biſhops, cou'd not look on this Alteration without grumbling. But as theſe were by no means the ſtronger Party, becauſe the Parliament had the Money, the Army, and the Forts at their diſpoſal; they had no other Reſource, but to re-unite with the King.

Then

Then it was that Two Parties began to be formed in the Kingdom; one whereof was for the King, and the other for the Parliament: And they were now ſo much upon an Equality, that it was eaſie to foreſee they wou'd not reſt long without taking up Arms. The King's Friends were at firſt called *Cavaliers*, which Name was afterwards changed into that of *Tories*. Thoſe of the Parliament, who were then called *Roundheads*, afterwards received the Name of *Whigs*. The Origin of theſe two Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, was this: At that Time the Denomination of *Tory* was apply'd to certain Robbers, or Banditti in *Ireland*, who lurked upon the Mountains, or in the Iſlands which form the vaſt Bogs of that Country. They are now called *Rapparees*. As the King's Enemies accuſed him of favouring the *Iriſh* Rebellion, which broke out at the ſame time, they gave his Friends the Name of *Tories*. On the other Hand, the latter, to be even with their Adverſaries, who were ſtrictly united with the *Scots*, nick-named 'em *Whigs*, who were, in *Scotland*, the ſame Sort of *Banditti* as the *Tories* in *Ireland*. It appears by this, that theſe two Names are as antient as the beginning of the Troubles, tho' they did not come into Faſhion till many Years afterwards. I can't tell preciſely about what time; but the Names of *Cavalier* and *Roundhead*, ſeem to have remained till the Reſtoration of *Charles* II. and thoſe of *Tory*

and

and *Whig*, to have afterwards obtained by little and little. Theſe are the Two Parties that began to divide *England* in the Time of *Charles* the Iſt, and which divide it ſtill. The Papiſts immediately ranged themſelves on the ſide of the King, who was not ſo much their Enemy as the Parliament was; and they have ever ſince remained united with the *Tory* Party.

What we have already ſaid upon this Subject, ſufficiently ſhews, that the King's Party conſiſted of two Sorts of Men; one whereof had chiefly in View the Political Intereſt of the King and Crown; and the other, that of the Church of *England*. But they were all united in this Point, that they found their reciprocal Advantage in the King's Proſperity, without which they cou'd never hope to ſucceed in their Deſigns. For this Reaſon they were looked upon as only one Party, under the Name, either of *Cavaliers* or *Royaliſts*. This Mixture of two different Views in the ſame Party, has continued to this Day, and is not one of the leaſt Cauſes of the Confuſion of Ideas which ariſes upon the Word *Tory*. To diſtinguiſh one from t'other as clearly as I can, I ſhall call the former *Political*, or *State Cavaliers*, and the latter *Eccleſiaſtical*, or *Church Cavaliers*. Each of theſe Two Parties was again ſubdivided into Two others. For among the *Political Cavaliers*, were Men, who perſiſting in the Maxims of the Duke of *Buckingham*,

ham, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, and the Earl of *Straf-ford*, wiſhed to ſee the King Abſolute, and in a Condition to deſtroy the Privileges of Parliament. Theſe may be called the *Arbitrary*. But they were few in Number, and very unable to ſupport the King in his Adverſity, tho' in his Proſperity they had made a great Noiſe in the Kingdom. The other Branch of Political Cavaliers conſiſted of thoſe whom I ſhall call *Moderate*. Theſe, indeed, wiſh'd to ſee the Royal Power veſted with its proper Rights, but not with any Prerogatives contrary to the antient Conſtitution of the Government. The other Cavaliers, that I have called *Eccleſiaſtical*, were alſo divided into two Branches; whereof one conſiſted of *Rigid Churchmen*, that is, of People that wou'd not give up the leaſt Tittle of the Practice of the Church of *England*. Thoſe of the other Branch were leſs ſcrupulous, and leſs obſtinate, and may be called the *Mitigate*.

In oppoſition to the *Cavaliers*, or *Royaliſts*, who follow'd the King's Party, the *Round-heads*, or *Parliamentarians*, were divided into two chief Branches, namely, the *Political*, and *Eccleſiaſtical*. The principal Aim of the former, was to maintain the Rights of the People; and of the latter, to advance Presbytery. Each of theſe two Branches was alſo ſub-divided into two others; one whereof conſiſted of *Republicans*, whoſe Aim was to Sap the very Foundations of the Regal Power, and

to

to turn *England* into a Republick. The other comprehended the *Moderate Men*, who only ſought to put it out of the King's Power to abuſe his Prerogative, but were ſtill for leaving him in Poſſeſſion of his juſt Rights. Thus much for the *Political* or *State Roundheads*, or *Parliamentarians*. As for the *Eccleſiaſtical* ones, they alſo form'd two Branches, whereof the firſt conſiſted of *Rigid Presbyterians*, whoſe View was the Deſtruction of the Hierarchy ; and the other of *Moderate Presbyterians*, who would have been ſatisfied with much leſs, and perhaps with a bare Toleration. This it was abſolutely neceſſary to premiſe, for the underſtanding of what we ſhall ſay in the Sequel; wherein I ſhall endeavour to repreſent more extenſively all that concerns the different Branches of the two Factions, after I have finiſh'd the Abridgment, which the Riſe of theſe two Parties interrupted.

The King was in a deplorable Condition, deſtitute of Friends, of Money, and of Refuge, and conſtrain'd to bear any Load the Parliament ſhould lay upon him, while they in a manner had their Foot upon his Neck ; when of a ſudden he was cheer'd by a Ray of Hope from the ſpringing up of the two Parties above-mention'd. He immediately conceiv'd, that it muſt certainly be of Advantage to him, if he cou'd foment the Diviſion ; and he ſucceeded in his Deſign of

ſo doing. By this means he at length believed he had reaſon to hope he might right himſelf by way of Arms. He therefore raiſed an Army, and engaged himſelf in an open War with the Parliament, who on their Side had taken all the neceſſary Meaſures to reſiſt him.

There is no neceſſity to enter here into the Particulars of that War, ſince the melancholy Cataſtrophe of it is ſtill too recent. 'Tis enough to ſay in two Words, that *Charles* the Iſt was overcome, and loſt his Life upon a Scaffold. (*) Thus the King himſelf, together with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, who had been the Authors of the Project of making the King Abſolute, did all come to tragical Ends. If we add to theſe Examples, thoſe of K. *John*, of *Henry* the IIId, of *Edward* II. of *Richard* II. and laſtly, that of *James* the IId, who all went upon the ſame Scheme, and who all fell in the Attempt of putting it in execution, we may eaſily comprehend, how dangerous it is for a King of *England* to undertake to ruin a Government ſo well cemented.

Oliver Cromwell, the chief Promoter of *Charles* the Iſt's Death, remained Maſter of the Government. He durſt not, however, aſſume the Title of King. He found a Way

(*) *Jan.* 30*th*, 1648

to make himſelf Abſolute : but he did it under the ſpecious Pretence of preſerving the Liberty of the Nation. This is the only Inſtance that ever was in *England* of an uſurp'd Authority, that continued to the natural Death of the Uſurper.

While the ſovereign Power was in *Cromwell*'s Hands, the *Cavaliers* were terribly oppreſs'd : But the Moment that formidable Enemy was in his Grave, they took Heart once more. That they might give their Adverſaries no Handle againſt them, they put themſelves under the Leading of ſuch of their Party as had the beſt Character for Moderation ; ſo that in appearance, the Branches of *Arbitrary* and *Rigids* were loſt. This Policy was abſolutely neceſſary at a time when they were obliged to be very cautious how they inſiſted upon the Royal Prerogative, or the Rights of the Church of *England*, ſince there were neither King nor Biſhops to ſupport them. At length, by one of the moſt ſurprizing Revolutions that ever happen'd, brought about, in a great meaſure, by the prudent Management of General *Monk*, the *Engliſh* united to ſet *Charles* the IId upon the Throne, and to re-eſtabliſh both Church and State on the ancient Foot.

Charles the IId at firſt reigned in Peace : He wanted neither Wit nor Penetration ; But he was to the laſt degree indolent, and totally addicted to his Pleaſures. His Intention

tion was to live in Tranquility, and to avoid all Occaſions of Quarrelling with his Subjects. He had ſuffer'd too much in his long Exile, during which he had often wanted even Neceſſaries, to run the Hazard of reducing himſelf again to the ſame Circumſtances. On the other hand, ſeveral Things had concur'd to open the Eyes of the *Engliſh*, and to ſhew them, that under Colour of maintaining their Liberty, they had been brought into Slavery. For it may be affirm'd, that *England* was never leſs Free, than during the Government of the *Long Parliament*, and afterwards of *Cromwell* : Yet *Charles* the IId inſenſibly began to go greater Lengths than he at firſt deſign'd, either thro' Indolence, or thro' too great Condeſcenſion to his Miniſters, who were all of the Party of *Cavaliers*, whom I ſhall henceforth call *Tories*, as I ſhall the *Roundheads*, *Whigs* ; tho' I am not fully ſatisfy'd what Time thoſe two Names came into Vogue. The *Tories*, then, who had the King's Ear entirely to themſelves, were inceſſantly ſolliciting him to reſtore the Royal Power, and the Church of *England* to their ancient Luſtre. The Court of *France*, for Ends of her own, labour'd alſo with all her Might to fill him with the ſame Thoughts. And to forward this Deſign, the Miniſters took great Care to hinder any of the *Whigs* from inſinuating themſelves into the King's Favour.

The Head of the Tory Party was the Duke of *York*, the King's Brother, a Prince of an impetuous, violent Nature, and who having embraced the *Popiſh* Religion during his Exile, had formed a Project of introducing it into *England*, and making it National. This Project cou'd never take Effect, without firſt extending the Regal Power beyond the Bounds preſcribed by the Laws; that is, without reſuming and proſecuting the ſame Deſign to which his Father, the late King, had unhappily fallen a Martyr: But the Duke was utterly unfit to manage ſuch an Undertaking, becauſe of his natural Diſpoſition, which hurry'd him on with too much Precipitation. He labour'd at it aſſiduouſly, during the Life of his Brother, who had no Children lawfully begotten. He hoped, that beginning the Work ſo ſoon, wou'd facilitate the Perfection of it when himſelf ſhou'd come to the Throne.

There was no other Way to ſucceed in this Deſign, but by entirely ruining the *Whig* Party, whoſe Principles were directly contrary to what the Duke of *York* propoſed, as well in Matters of Religion, as in reſpect to the State. It muſt be obſerved, that then the greateſt Part of the *Whigs* were Presbyterians: So that by ſeeming to attack only Presbytery, the Duke hoped to ruin thoſe that oppoſed the enlarging of the Royal Power, without allarming the Nation. 'Tis true,

true, that after having quite depreſſed the Party of the *Whigs*, he might with Reaſon fear to meet with great Obſtacles from the *moderate Tories*, whoſe Principles did not entirely agree with the Tyranny he meant to ſet up. But theſe he concluded he ſhou'd eaſily ſurmount, if he cou'd ſucceed in removing the *Whigs*, as the moſt dangerous Enemies. In this View he prevail'd upon the King to perſecute the *Prebyterians*, in which he was back'd by all the *Tories*, who were wonderfully fond of this firſt Occaſion of being revenged of their Enemies the *Whigs*. Thus, under a Pretence of re-eſtabliſhing the Church upon the ſame Foot on which it ſtood before the Troubles, Presbytery was attack'd with a great deal of Fury. An Act was paſs'd, which forbid the Presbyterian Aſſemblies, which were call'd Conventicles; another, which decreed, that no Perſon ſhou'd be capable of holding any publick Office, unleſs he cou'd produce an Affidavit of his having Communicated in the Church of *England*. This laſt Act was called, the *Act of Conformity*, becauſe thoſe that pretended to any Employment, were obliged by this Statute to conform to the Service of the Church of *England*.

The *Whigs* ſoon found, that under Colour of maintaining the Rights of the Church of *England*, the Duke of *York*'s Deſign was to overturn the State, and

to

to ruin the Proteſtant Religion in *England*. Some Time was neceſſary to fix upon the proper Meaſures to prevent this Miſchief; and at length, with the Aſſiſtance of the *moderate Tories*, who were at laſt apprehenſive of the Duke's carrying Things too far, they obliged the King to ſend that Prince out of the Kingdom. The Lower-Houſe even prepar'd a Bill, which was call'd, *The Bill of Excluſion*, to hinder the Duke from ſucceeding to the Crown. But the Bill did not paſs, becauſe the King diſſolved that Parliament: He convoked another at *Oxford*, in hopes the People might chuſe Members that were leſs Violent. He was miſtaken; after a ſhort Seſſion, he was obliged to diſſolve this too, which had alſo undertaken to make an Act of the ſame nature.

It may, perhaps, be thought ſtrange, that the Scene ſhould be ſo ſoon ſhifted; and that the *Whig* Party, who had been ſo very low, ſhou'd of a ſudden get the upper-hand. To account for this Change, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the *moderate Tories* help'd on the Deſigns of the Court with all their Power, while they thought Presbytery alone was aim'd at: But when they perceived, by every Step of the King, the Duke of *York*, and the Miniſtry, that the Scheme was laid to ruin the Conſtitution both in State and Church, and to Sap the Foundation of *Magna Charta*, they preſently united with the *Whigs*

in order to break the Plot. This it was that gave the *Whigs* a Superiority, which elſe they could never have attained. On the other hand, the *arbitrary Political Tories*, and the *rigid Eccleſiaſtical* Ones, to regain the Ground they had loſt, endeavour'd to get the People on their Side, by accuſing the *Whigs* of having formed a Deſign to ruin the Church; and theſe in their turn accuſed Them, of plotting the Deſtruction of the Government, and favouring the pernicious Schemes of the Duke of *York*. Thus the Hatred of the two Parties, which ſince the Reſtoration ſeem'd to have been conſiderably weaken'd, reſum'd new Strength; and we may ſay with Truth, it was the Fault of the *Tories*, who to be reveng'd for the Wrongs they had ſuffer'd during the Long Parliament, and under the Government of *Cromwell*, threw themſelves blindly into the Duke of *York*'s Meaſures. They repented it afterwards, when they ſaw to what Purpoſes that Prince made them Tools.

Some Time being paſs'd, and the Minds of Men a little calm'd, the Duke of *York* return'd into *England*, and continued indefatigable in fomenting Factions and Diſorders, without which he cou'd never hope to bring about his Projects. Thus that Prince, out of an Exceſs of Zeal for the Religion he had embraced, and it may be ambitious to ſucceed in a Deſign which ſeveral Kings of *England*

land had undertaken in vain, in conjunction with *Charles* the IId, who was too eaſily led by his Brother's Inſinuations, kindled a Flame which has never ſince been extinguiſhed.

Charles the IId dyed during theſe Tranſactions, and his Brother aſcended the Throne without any oppoſition. He made great Promiſes to his Subjects, and tryed to perſuade them, that neither the Religion, nor the Conſtitution of the Government, ſhou'd ſuffer any Alteration under his Reign: But he executed his Promiſes very indifferently. A little while afterwards, the Duke of *Monmouth*, one of *Charles* the IId's Natural Sons, truſting to the Diſcontents of the Nation, left the *Netherlands*, whither he had been baniſh'd, landed in *England* with ſome Troops, and aſſumed the Title of King. But his Royalty laſted only a few Days. His Party appearing much weaker than he hoped to find it, he was overthrown, taken Priſoner, and beheaded. This Victory thus eaſily obtained, ſo ſwell'd the new King's Vanity, that he was no longer apprehenſive of diſcovering his Deſigns; ſo ſecure he thought himſelf of Succeſs. He got a Deciſion from the corrupted Judges of the Kingdom, that the Sovereign had a Right to diſpenſe with Laws made in Parliament. This Deciſion was grounded upon certain Statutes, which granted the King that Power in reference to ſome particular Laws; and upon Prece-

Precedents of the like in ſome former Kings, who had therein exceeded the Bounds of their Prerogative. Thus theſe vile Judges from ſome particular Caſes, drew a general Concluſion; and founded a perpetual Right upon a few temporary Uſurpations.

This Door being ſet open, the King, by his bare Authority, revoked the Penal Laws which divers Parliaments had enacted, to prevent the Attempts of the Papiſts. This done, he brought into his Army great Numbers of Officers of that Religion, and conferred Offices and Honours upon Perſons whom the Laws had pronounced uncapable of holding them. He deprived the City of *London*, and ſeveral other Towns, of their Charters, and reduced them to depend ſolely upon his good Pleaſure. Laſtly, By a Proclamation only, he granted Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects, and gave Permiſſion to every Man to perform publickly the Exerciſes of his Religion. This Proclamation had a double Aim: Firſt, To favour the *Papiſts*; Secondly, To blind the *Presbyterians*. The King fancy'd, that as theſe latter ſtill groaned under the rigorous Laws which had been made againſt them in the laſt Reign, they wou'd be over-joyed at ſeeing themſelves freed from them; and that Fear of loſing the Liberty which the Proclamation granted them, would keep them in Obedience. But they were not the Dupes of this Artifice, which at the bottom meant their Ruin. I

omit an infinite Number more of the King's Uſurpations, which cou'd not fail to caſt terrible Apprehenſions into the Minds of his Subjects.

Till now all the *Tories* in general had gone into the King's Meaſures: But when they perceived that all theſe Steps tended to the Diſſolution of the Eſtabliſh'd Government, and the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, they began to repent their paſt Conduct. They ſaw plainly, that by the Road they were drawn into, the Deſign was to lead them farther than they meant to go, and they cou'd not compaſs the Ends they aimed at, to wit, the Ruin of the *Whig* Party, but by ruining, at the ſame Time, their Religion and Liberty. In this Danger, which was come to the laſt Extremity, they joyned with the *Whigs* to invite over the Prince of *Orange*, to deliver them from the dangerous Condition to which their Folly had brought them. The King's Party now became very weak, conſiſting only of *Papiſts*, *Fiery Tories*, and ſome Lords that were Slaves to the Court and their own Fortunes. Yet, the King outwardly appeared as ſtrong as ever, and believed he came near to the Completion of his Wiſhes; becauſe thoſe that ſtill ſeemed attached to the Court Party, did not think proper to declare themſelves till Matters were ripe. But upon the Arrival of the Prince of *Orange*, the King's Weakneſs was made manifeſt. His Army, his Fleet,

Fleet, the Lords that he thought moſt devoted to his Perſon, abandoned him all at once, and he was reduced to the melancholly Neceſſity of endeavouring to fly the Kingdom in diſguiſe. But having ill Succeſs even in this alſo, he had the Mortification to ſee himſelf at the diſpoſal of the Prince of *Orange*, and 'tis probable, to be obliged to his Generoſity, or perhaps to his Policy, for the indirect Means which were furniſh'd him to make his eſcape into *France*. This Example proves, that tho' the *Engliſh* are divided into Two Parties, which are prodigiouſly animated againſt each other; yet their Madneſs does not reach ſo far as to make them give up their Religion and Liberty; or that at leaſt there are but few of ſo ſtrange a Character.

William and *Mary* being crowned upon the Abdication of King *James*, their firſt Care was to ſtifle the Seeds of Diviſion which ſtill continued between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*, tho' they had been united in their common Danger. To effect this Deſign, it was neceſſary to remove from the Miniſtry ſuch as had favoured King *James*'s Projects, and thoſe that were the moſt ſtubbornly devoted to the moſt inſignificant Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. Without this, the *Whigs* cou'd never have lived in repoſe; ſince they had always found the *Fiery Tories*, and the *Rigids*, to be their mortal Enemies. On the other Hand, it was no leſs neceſſary to remove

ſuch of the *Presbyterian Whigs*, as were the moſt ſtiff in their Principles, for fear of giving Occaſion to report that there was a Scheme laid to alter the Government of the Church. This Fear was indeed ſomething the better grounded, becauſe the new King having always made Profeſſion in *Holland* of the *Calviniſt* Religion, the leaſt ſtep in favour of the Presbyterians might have given an Alarm, that he was about to fix it upon the Ruins of the Church of *England*. Great Caution was therefore to be uſed in this Point, to take away from the *Tories* all colour of Fear and Suſpicion. In theſe Views it was, that during the Reign of *William* and *Mary*, Offices were generally beſtowed upon *Moderate* Perſons of both Parties. King *William* obſerved the ſame Maxim when he was alone upon the Throne, after the Queen's Death. But as it was impoſſible to ſatisfie both Parties, becauſe there were not Places enough for them all, he affected to change his Miniſtry often, and to make uſe of the two Parties by turns. This was all he cou'd do, and he was obliged to leave the Extinction of the Fire of Diſcord to be the Effect of Time.

In the Circumſtances *England* was then in, under a King of ſo much Wiſdom and Prudence, it was almoſt impoſſible for the difference of Principles to have occaſioned any Diſorders, if the *Eccleſiaſtical Tories* cou'd have been contented with ſeeing their Church uppermoſt.

permoſt. But the *Rigids* of that Party cou'd not be eaſie while they ſaw the Presbyterians enjoy an entire Liberty of Conſcience, exerciſe their Religion in publick, and poſſeſs Places, notwithſtanding the Act of Conformity, which had been made in King *Charles* the Second's Reign. They cou'd not help ſuſpecting, that the Intention of the *Whigs* was to undermine the Church of *England* by degrees, and that the King concurred with them in this Deſign. What had been done during the long Parliament made them fear the ſame Attacks now. But the Truth is, the *Arbitrary Tories* having loſt King *James*, their Head and Defender, inſinuated theſe Fears and Suſpicions into the Eccleſiaſtical ones, in order to animate them againſt King *William*. They knew they were utterly unable of ſupporting themſelves long, if they cou'd not find a Way to draw the Church into the Quarrel. From hence proceeded the Reports that ran among the People, that *the Church was in Danger*. This convinced the *Whigs*, that the *Arbitrary Tories* had not thrown up their Projects; and that if ever they got into Power again, they wou'd be ſure to make uſe of the Pretence of Religion to ruin them, as King *James* had done before. Thus the Animoſity between the two Parties was kept up, in ſpite of all King *William* cou'd do to hinder it.

The Diſpute now ſeemed to be upon the Account of Religion only. Neither the *Arbitrary*

bitrary Tories, nor the *Republican Whigs*, having an Opportunity of puſhing their Principles. This has given Occaſion to many People to form a falſe Idea of the Differences that reign between the two Parties, and to imagine that they conſiſt ſolely in their diverſity of Sentiments with relation to the Government of the Church. But this is certainly a miſtake. When a fair Opportunity offers, the *Arbitrary Tories* ſhew plainly, that the Safety of the Church of *England*, is not the only Motive of their Actions; and 'tis likely the *Republican Whigs* wou'd remember their old Maxims if the Times favoured them.

As for the *Papiſts*, who may be reckoned as a Branch of the *Tories*, they had great reaſon to be contented with King *William*'s Moderation towards them, if the earneſt Deſire they had to ſee King *James* reſtored to the Throne, had not made them look upon the King as their mortal Enemy. Some among them went ſo far, as even to plot againſt his Perſon; but it always turn'd to their Confuſion and Ruin. This exceſſive Impatience which the Papiſts, and ſome among the *Tories* intimated for the Reſtoration of King *James*, obliged King *William* to think of Means, not only to prevent their ill Deſigns during his Life, but to render their Endeavours fruitleſs after his Death. It was with this View that by an Act of Parliament the Succeſſion of the Crown was ſettled on the moſt Serene Houſe of *Hanover*,

ver, without the leaſt regard to the Hereditary Right which might be in any Papiſt whatſoever. King *William* died ſome while afterwards, and *Anne*, the Daughter of *James* the Second, and Princeſs of *Denmark*, aſcended the Throne.

This Queen had been educated in the Principles of the *Rigids*, with reference to Religion; and 'tis very likely, in thoſe of the *Arbitrary Tories*, with reference to Government. At leaſt, all that had any Power over her, or any Influence in her Education, were of that Character. Her Uncle, *Charles* the IId, her Father *James* IId, her Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Brother to her Mother, the Dutcheſs of *York*, were all imbued with the Principles of *Arbitrary Toryiſm*, looking upon all Reſiſtance againſt the Will of the Sovereign as manifeſt Rebellion. *Anne* had beſides but a very mean Capacity, and was naturally Obſtinate. In the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, a Quarrel which happened between her, and the Queen, her Siſter, having provoked her to make a Reſolution to abſent her ſelf from the Court; ſhe kept it ſo punctually, that to the Death of King *William* ſhe never wou'd come near it. She did not ſo much as viſit the Queen, her Siſter, on her Death-bed. When ſhe ſucceeded to the Throne, the Mediocrity of her Underſtanding made it eaſie to judge, that her Miniſtry wou'd have much more ſhare in the

Go-

Government than herſelf. Again, her Education made People fear ſhe wou'd throw her ſelf into the Hands of the *Arbitrary Tories*, and of the *Rigids*, of which her Uncle, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, was looked upon as the Leader. That Lord was equally dreaded both by the *Moderate Tories*, and the *Whigs*, as a dangerous Man, and one that wou'd carry Matters to the higheſt Extremities. He was otherwiſe a Gentleman of great Capacity, but very conceited of his own Principles. It is exceeding probable, that he wou'd have been ſet at the Helm by the Queen, his Niece; but, they ſay, the Apprehenſions the *Moderate Tories* were in of ſeeing him in ſo elevated a Poſt, prevailed upon them to reſolve to unite with the *Whigs*, in order to prevent it. However, that this Union was made is certain, and that the new Queen was by this means in a manner forced to put her ſelf into their Conduct, and to truſt them with the Adminiſtration of her Affairs. I do not know the Intrigues that were made uſe of to work up the Queen to enter into thoſe Meaſures. The new Miniſtry preſently nominated the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; but that Nobleman perceiving plainly it was only done to ſend him out of the Way, refuſed to accept of an Employment which wou'd make him ſuch a Dependant of the Miniſtry's. The Lord *Godolphin*, the Lord *Marlborough*, and ſome other Heads of the *Moderate Tories*, were thoſe that joyned

joyned the *Whig* Party, which they ſtrengthened more by their Prudence, than by their Number or Credit. Ever ſince that Time, the *Moderate Tories* and the *Moderate Whigs*, have been but one and the ſame Party.

It wou'd be unneceſſary to relate in this Place, with how much Glory both to *England* in general, and the Queen in particular, this new Miniſtry directed the Affairs of the Publick. 'Tis what is known over all the World, and will not be eaſily forgotten. But 'tis pretended, that by reaſon of the Mediocrity of the Queen's Genius, they kept her in little better than Servitude; tho' outwardly they affected to give her the Honour of all Succeſſes. During their Adminiſtration, the *arbitrary Tories*, and the *rigid Eccleſiaſticks*, were totally excluded from Civil Employments, and Eccleſiaſtical Dignities: And if they had kept in till the Queen's Death, thoſe two Branches of the *Tory* Party wou'd undoubtedly have been greatly leſſen'd both in Number and Credit.

Yet the Queen cou'd not without ſome Impatience endure to ſee herſelf as it were conſtrain'd to follow the Advice of thoſe whom ſhe had a Right to Command, and who, if we may believe the publick Reports, did not allow her to be directed by her own Judgment, or Inclinations. The *arbitrary Tories*, getting a Hint of this; or, perhaps, having

by ſome means inſtill'd theſe Sentiments into her, ply'd her daily with Arguments that might foment her Chagrin, which they did by the Aſſiſtance of a certain Lady that was much in her Confidence. They ſucceeded ſo well in this Contrivance, that having compleatly perſuaded her ſhe was a Slave, they inſpir'd her with a Reſolution of ſetting herſelf free. This Intrigue was manag'd with ſo much Art and Secrecy, that the Miniſtry found themſelves Outed, before they cou'd take the proper Meaſures to prevent their Ruin. Of a ſudden, the *arbitrary* and *rigid Tories* were put in their Places. The Parliament, in which the *Whigs* had a great Majority of Voices, was diſſolved, and the Queen called another, wherein the New Miniſtry took Care to have ſuch Members elected as were wholly devoted to their Party. Every body that is in the leaſt acquainted with *England*, muſt know how much Influence the Court has in Elections. Beſides, they added vaſt Numbers to their Faction, by fomenting Jealouſies with reſpect to Religion; and by perſuading the People, that the Church had been in woful Peril during the Adminiſtration of the laſt Miniſtry; and that it wou'd always be ſo, whenever the *Whigs* were at the Helm. It was by theſe Suggeſtions that they revived the Fury of the *Eccleſiaſtical Tories*, and egg'd them on to commit

commit ſuch Violences upon the Presbyterians, as ought never to be ſuffer'd in a well-regulated State : But the Miniſtry pretended to ſee nothing of the matter. In effect, their Deſign was not to diminiſh the Rancour of the two Parties, but rather to enflame it as much as poſſible ; becauſe it was this that ſtrengthened theirs.

Hitherto things went ſwimmingly for the New Miniſtry. But they full well knew, that the chimerical Terrors they had ſpread among the People, cou'd not live long ; tho' for the preſent they did them admirable Service. Beſides, even tho' they had been ſure to keep up this Diſpoſition in the People, yet the Queen might dye ſoon, enjoying but an indifferent State of Health. In this Caſe they had too much reaſon to fear that all they had been doing, wou'd be overturn'd at once by the Elector of *Hanover*, who was obliged for his Succeſſion chiefly to the *Whigs*. It was therefore their Buſineſs to contrive Means to prevent this Danger without loſs of Time. Their Party was too weak to ſubſiſt by its own Strength, if they ſhou'd have the King againſt them, as Experience had often convinc'd them during the Reign of K. *William*, and the beginning of the Queen's. They concluded therefore (at leaſt if we may judge by their Actions) that their ſafeſt Way wou'd be to ſettle the Pretender upon the Throne,

that they might never want a Protector when the Queen was gone. However, it is not quite certain whether the cunning Gentleman in the Tower was of the same Mind. But it cannot be deny'd, that they thought the Assistance of *France* was absolutely necessary for their Security. It was therefore to make sure of that Assistance, they made that shameful, precipitate Peace, which has fill'd all *Europe* with Amazement and Indignation; and for the same Reason they forced the Allies to follow their Example. It is probable, that if the Queen had not dyed so soon after the Peace, the oppress'd *Whigs* must have been obliged to invite over the Elector of *Hanover* to their Assistance, as they did, before, the Prince of *Orange*, but with much less Hope of having the universal Concurrence of the People. The Reason is, that when the Prince of *Orange* was invited over, King *James* had declared himself so openly, that no Mortal cou'd doubt his having a Design to change the Religion and Government of the State; whereas in this Case of bringing in the Pretender, they could only judge upon Probabilities.

What has happen'd since King *GEORGE* has been upon the Throne, plainly proves that a Scheme was laid to set the Crown upon the Pretender's Head; if the Death of the Queen had not fallen out before Matters were quite ripe

ripe for ſuch a Revolution. But it is not certain that they cou'd even then have put it in execution; or, if they had, that the Pretender's Reign had laſted long. The *Engliſh*, in general, are exceeding jealous of their Laws and Liberties, and they are no leſs ſo of their Religion. This I believe may ſafely be affirmed, tho' ſome few among them appear indifferent as to this laſt regard. But God be thanked, the Men of ſuch looſe Principles are far from being the majority: So that it is very unlikely, that the Pretender, placed upon the Throne by a foreign Power, profeſſing a Religion contrary to that eſtabliſh'd in the Nation, and adviſ'd by *arbitrary Tories*, wou'd have been able to contain himſelf within the Bounds of Moderation, neceſſary to win the Hearts of the People, without which a King of *England* can never be firm upon his Throne. But without troubling ourſelves to gueſs what wou'd have happen'd, let us conclude what we have to ſay upon this Head with remarking, That the *arbitrary Tories*, and the *Rigids*, were baſely baulk'd. Not only the Pretender is no King, but he had never leſs Hopes of coming to be one. King *George* is in peaceful poſſeſſion of the Crown. The mighty *Tories* are pull'd down, and the *Whigs*, who ſome-time ſince were lower-moſt, are now exalted to the top of the Wheel.

After

After having gone thro' this ſhort Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of the two Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*, the Reader, I believe, will not be diſpleas'd to ſee a more particular Account of their *Views*, *Intereſts*, *Strength*, and *Characters*. To ſhew theſe clearly, we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh the ſeveral Branches which ſome Pages before I did but ſlightly mention. 'Tis therefore neceſſary to repeat here, that the two Parties may be regarded under two different Aſpects, to wit, with reſpect to the Political Government, and with reſpect to the Church. I ſhall firſt handle the *Political* or *State Tories*, and *Whigs*; and then conſider them on the ſide of Religion.

The *Political* or *State Tories* are divided, as I ſaid before, into two Branches, whereof the one we may call the *Arbitrary Tories*: They are commonly called in *England* by the Name of *High-Flyers*. This Idea, taken from Birds that are loſt in the Clouds, and fly beyond the common Sphere of other Birds, agrees very well with the Nature of People that cannot contain themſelves within the Bounds of the Government eſtabliſh'd. Theſe are for making the King Abſolute in *England*, as he is in *France*, and ſome other Countries; and his Will they think ought to paſs for a Law. They give no heed to Hiſtory, which tells them (as I ſaid at the beginning of this Treatiſe)

tiſe) that all the Governments now ſubſiſting in *Europe*, were originally very near the ſame with that of *England*; and that conſequently, there is not the leaſt ſhew of Reaſon why the *Engliſh* ſhou'd imitate the other Nations in ſuffering it to be loſt, or ſo much as greatly alter'd. We may eaſily judge, that in ſuch a Country as *England*, this Party cannot be very numerous; and yet it is by no means deſpicable, for three Reaſons. *Firſt*, Becauſe the Heads of this Party are Men of high Quality, and generally Favourites, or Miniſters of State, or others that poſſeſs the greateſt Poſts at *Court*, and the moſt eminent Dignities in the *Church*. As theſe are not likely to ſubmit to the leading of any but themſelves, they generally, by means of their high Stations, make themſelves the Chiefs and Maſters of all the *Tory* Party. They turn it which way they pleaſe, not only to the Advantage of all the Party in general, but chiefly to their own particular Ends. Thus, commonly, under colour of acting for the Intereſt of the *Tories*, they enter into Meaſures which tend only to their private Benefit, and engage the whole Party to go greater Lengths than moſt of them cou'd wiſh. This gives many Perſons occaſion to accuſe the whole Body of the *Tories*, of being for a deſpotical Government; tho' it is certain, that only the *arbitrary* Ones are of that Principle; But, indeed, it is not very wrong

to

to aſcribe to a whole Party, what their Leaders do by their Aſſiſtance.

In the Second Place, this particular Branch of the *Tories* is conſiderable upon this account; that when they are in the Miniſtry, they get the *Tory Clergy* to make the Pulpits ring with the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*; which is of no ſmall uſe to them, in bringing the People to their Side. They perſuade the Parſons that all they intend is to ruin the Presbyterians; and with this Inſinuation, draw them in to preach up a Dogm, which, in its conſequence, is equally prejudicial to all the Subjects. Inſtances of this were ſeen in the Reigns of *Charles* the IId, *James* the IId, and the latter-end of Queen *Anne*.

Laſtly, the *arbitrary Tories* become very Powerful when they have a King on their Side, as they have often had; and then it is that the Liberty of the Nation is in danger. We have had Proofs of this in the Reigns of *James* the IId, *Charles* the Iſt, *Richard* the IId, *Edward* the IId, and *Henry* the IIId: For the Party of *arbitrary Tories* is more ancient than is generally imagin'd.

The Second Branch of the *Political* or *State Tories*, conſiſts of thoſe I have before called *Moderate*. Theſe are for not depriving the King of any of his Prerogatives; but they wou'd by no means Sacrifice to him the Privileges of the Subject. Theſe are

true *Engliſhmen*; they have the real Good of their Country at Heart; and are reſolv'd to maintain the Conſtitution of the Government, in the ſame Condition it was tranſmitted down to them from their Anceſtors. They have often ſaved the State, and will ſave it again, whenever they ſee it in Danger, either from the *arbitrary Tories*, or the *republican Whigs*, by making a noble Stand againſt all ſuch as would break in upon the Conſtitution. It would be Injuſtice to theſe, to confound them with the former, under the ſame Name of *Tories*.

As there are two Branches of the *State Tories*, ſo there are alſo two of *State Whigs*, namely, the *Republican*, and the *Moderate Whigs*. The *Republican Whigs* are a Remnant of the Party of the Long Parliament, which undertook to change the Government into a Republick. Theſe do now make ſo pitiful a Figure, that they only ſerve to fortifie the Party of the other *Whigs*, with whom they commonly joyn. The *Tories* wou'd fain perſwade the Publick, that all the *Whigs* are of this kind, as the *Whigs* wou'd make them believe that all the *Tories* are *Arbitrary*. But this is only an Artifice to render each other mutually odious.

The Second Branch of the *State Whigs* is made up of the *Moderate Whigs*, who are very near of the ſame Principles with the *Mo-*

derate Tories, and who ought to be looked upon as true *Engliſhmen*, that are for preſerving the Government upon its antient Foundations. In this they wou'd be entirely like the *Moderate Tories*, if there were not this difference, that the *Moderate Tories* incline more to the ſide of the King, and the *Moderate Whigs* to the ſide of the Parliament. Theſe are in perpetual Motion to hinder the Rights of the People from being invaded. Sometimes they uſe Precautions for that purpoſe, even to the Expence of the Crown. It was they that procured the Act for Triennial Parliaments, and ſome others, which it wou'd be unneceſſary to mention, but all which were deſigned to prevent the King's making an ill uſe of his Power. It appears by this, that the *Arbitrary Tories* have no Enemies ſo formidable as theſe; and likewiſe, that theſe two Branches, of *Moderate Whigs*, and *Moderate Tories*, do properly form the two main Bodies of *Political* or *State Tories* and *Whigs*. Theſe latter make a Jeſt of the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, when the Conſequences of it are puſhed too far. They avet that the King's Power is limited to certain Prerogatives, which he cannot without Injuſtice exceed. And therefore they are perſwaded, that whenever he is guilty of any Uſurpation on that ſide, the People have a Right to reſiſt his Enterprizes. It is an eaſie Inference from hence, that they do not believe

lieve the King may diſpenſe with the Laws.

What has been ſaid is enough to ſhew, that the *Moderate Whigs and Tories*, are, in moſt reſpects, of the ſame Opinion. What divided them into two different Parties, was their mutual Fear, that the one ſhou'd be too indulgent to the King's Prerogative, or the other to the Privileges of Parliament, and ſo turn the Scale too much to one ſide. It is therefore no wonder that theſe two Branches of the contending Parties ſhou'd unite, when the Danger of the State requires their help: For indeed, they both equally intend the preſerving the Conſtitution of the Government, tho' they often take contrary Ways to attain the ſame end. And thus we ſee, that ſince the Union of the two Parties after the Death of King *William*, they have never ſeparated again, and the *Moderate Whigs* and *Tories* make now but one and the ſame Party, by the common Name of *Whigs*. However, I dare not aver, that there are no *Moderate Tories* in being, that keep themſelves concealed, and are unwilling to be mingled with the *Whigs*.

It muſt be remembered, that hitherto I have ſpoken of the *Whigs* and *Tories*, only in reference to the Government, and not to Religion. I wou'd by no means confound two Things that ought to be carefully diſtinguiſhed. All the Churchmen are not *Tories*, when a Point of Government is in diſpute; nor are

all the Presbyterians *Whigs*, as ſeveral imagine. There are ſeveral Presbyterians who are in this Caſe of the Principles of the *Moderate Tories*, and who wou'd be no leſs unwilling to ſee the King deſpoiled of his Prerogatives, than to ſee the Subjects deprived of their Rights. So, there are alſo a great Number of Church Men, and many Biſhops, who are *Whigs*, nay, very good *Whigs*, if we conſider them only with relation to the Government, and in Oppoſition to the *Arbitrary Tories*. This ſhews, how neceſſary it is to make a Diſtinction between the *Political*, or *State Whigs* and *Tories*, and the *Eccleſiaſtical Whigs* and *Tories*, to whom we ſhall come preſently.

I ſuppoſe the Reader is ſufficiently informed, that the Church of *England* at the Reformation, admitted only ſome Alterations in the Doctrine, but preſerved the Hierarchy, with all thoſe Ceremonies that ſhe thought untainted with Superſtition. The Work of the Reformation was not fully compleated till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. Then it was, that divers Synodal Decrees, confirmed by Acts of Parliament, ſettled Divine Service in the manner it is now practiſed in the Church of *England*. Nevertheleſs, ſeveral *Engliſh* Preachers, and others who had been in Exile, during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, returned into *England*, prejudiced in favour of the manner

ner wherein the Reformation was eſtabliſhed at *Geneva*, in *France*, in *Switzerland*, and in ſome Parts of *Germany*. Theſe Men cou'd not approve of that of *England*, which in their Opinion, had not been carried far enough. For this Reaſon they not only neglected to be preſent at the Congregations of the Church of *England*, but even ſeparated entirely from them, and had particular Meetings among themſelves, which were even then called Conventicles. Theſe Separatiſts were alſo called *Presbyterians*, becauſe they refuſed to ſubmit to the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, holding that all Presbyters, or Miniſters, were equal in Authority, and that the Church ought to be governed by *Presbyteries*, or Conſiſtories made up of Miniſters and ſome Lay-Elders. Upon this Diſpute were formed Two Parties, who inſtead of ſhewing a mutual Condeſcenſion for People who in the main profeſſed all the ſame Religion, began to vex each other by Conteſts, both by Word of Mouth, and in Writings. The *Epiſcopalians*, that is, thoſe who adhered to the Church of *England*, were very angry that private Men ſhou'd preſume to amend what had been decreed upon the mature Deliberations of the National Synods and the Parliament. On the other Hand, the Presbyterians thought it no leſs ſtrange, that People ſhou'd go about to force them to practiſe Things which they thought

thought contrary to the *Purity* (*) of Religion, and which their Conſcience wou'd not allow of. The Presbyterians were for a great while in Oppreſſion, becauſe their Antagoniſts back'd their Arguments with the Authority of the Queen and Parliament.

When King *James* the Firſt aſcended the Throne of *England*, after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Presbyterians conceived great Hopes from that Prince's having always profeſſed their Religion while he reigned in *Scotland*. But as he conformed to the Church of *England* without a ſcruple; they were but little the better for him. Yet this Party, as much oppreſſed as it was, encreaſed in ſuch a manner, that it was very numerous at the beginning of the Troubles which aroſe in the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt. That Prince was ſo zealous for the Church of *England*, that he may juſtly be called her Martyr, as thoſe that read his Hiſtory will eaſily agree. The Opinion he had of her Purity made him readily liſten to *William Laud*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who put it into his Head to reduce the Church of *Scotland* to the ſame Form of Government with that of *England*, by introducing her *Liturgy* there. This Undertaking engag'd him in a War with *Scotland*;

(*) *This gave them the Name of* Puritans.

and

and that War produced the Parliament we have ſpoken of before; againſt which the King thought himſelf oblig'd to take up Arms. This ſame Parliament, ſtanding in need of the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, cou'd not obtain it, but by promiſing to bring *Presbytery* into *England*. They began therefore to pick a Quarrel with the Biſhops, the Deans, the Prebendaries; and, in ſhort, with the whole Church of *England*; and at laſt changed the Hierarchy, eſtabliſh'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, into a Presbyterian Government, after the manner of *Scotland*. Then the Epiſcopalians had no other Courſe to take but to joyn with the King's Party; and as they had one common Intereſt with the Cavaliers, namely, to ſupport the King, they were confounded with them in the ſame Appellation. The Presbyterians were in the ſame manner confounded with the Party of the Roundheads, becauſe they adhered to the Parliament.

While the Long Parliament ſubſiſted, and till the Death of *Cromwell*, no notice was taken of the Diviſion of Branches which I have mention'd. All that were comprehend-ed under the Name of *Roundheads*, or *Parliamentarians*, were *rigid Presbyterians*, and *Republicans*. This was then the only Party in Faſhion, and the only Way to attain to Offices which were at the Parliament's diſpoſal. Thus thoſe that followed the King's Party,

Party, ſeemed to be *arbitrary Cavaliers*, or *rigid Epiſcopalians*; becauſe thoſe were the Men beſt looked upon at Court. But after K. *Charles* the IId was reſtored to the Throne, the different Branches of the two Parties began to be diſtinguiſh'd.

The whole Nation being grown weary of the Troubles that had ſo long agitated the Kingdom, the Men of moderate Sentiments were not afraid to avow them openly. Some among the Presbyterians intimated, that they would willingly relax ſomewhat of the Stiffneſs of their Principles; and many Churchmen were of Opinion that in favour of Peace, ſome Condeſcenſion might be ſhewn the *Presbyterians*. Theſe moderate Men therefore of both Parties, were thoſe that formed the two Branches of *mitigated Whigs* and *Tories*: But the Majority of both Parties ſtuck firm to their Principles with inconceivable Stubbornneſs. Among the Churchmen there were a vaſt many who wou'd not for the World recede one ſingle Tittle from the Practice of their Church; and among the Presbyterians, there were thoſe that were as much ſhock'd at the Sight of a Miniſter officiating in a Surplice, as they cou'd be at an Heretical Sermon; and who look'd upon all the Ceremonies the Church of *England* had retain'd, as downright Idolatry and Superſtition.

This

This was what gave Birth to the two Parties of *rigid Churchmen*, and *Presbyterians*, which remain at this Day. The Hierarchy is the chief Article upon which they are divided. Both ſorts are comprized under the Denomination of *Whig* and *Tory*, becauſe the *rigid Churchmen* joyn the *Tories*, and the *rigid Presbyterians* the *Whigs*.

From all that has been ſaid in reference to the various Branches of *Whigs* and *Tories*, it is eaſy to gather, that theſe two Names are very obſcure, and equivocal Terms, becauſe they do, or at leaſt ought to carry along with them many different Ideas, according to the Occaſion upon which it is uſed.

For Inſtance: If I hear any one ſay, that the *Whigs* and *Tories* are mightily enflamed againſt each other, this forms in my Mind an Idea which takes in all the various Branches of *Whigs* and *Tories* in general. But if I hear, that the *Tories* are for making the King Abſolute, and Independant upon the Laws; or that the *Whigs* are for aboliſhing the Royal Power, my Imagination fixes only upon the *Arbitrary State Tories*, and the *Republican Whigs*. The other *Whigs*, and the other *Tories*, would, no doubt, be offended, if ſuch Sentiments were aſcribed to them.

In like manner; If I hear that the *Tories* wou'd rather bring in a *Popiſh King*, than be govern'd by a *Proteſtant King*, who ſhou'd favour the *Whigs*; I ſhou'd do Wrong to the *Tories* in general, to impute to them a Thought which takes place in the Hearts of the *Popiſh Tories* only; or of ſome of the *rigid Church Tories*, and perhaps of ſome *arbitrary Tories* too.

Laſtly; If I hear, that the *Whigs* contrive the Deſtruction of the Church of *England*, I can conceive it no otherwiſe than in reference to the *Presbyterian Whigs*, ſince it wou'd be to the laſt Degree unjuſt to accuſe the *Church Whigs*, in which Number are many Biſhops, of ſeeking the Ruin of their own Church.

Thus the Names *Whig* and *Tory* inſpire certain confuſed Ideas, which few People are able rightly to diſintangle. But thoſe Ideas are ſtill more confuſed, when we conſider that one and the ſame Perſon may be both *Whig* and *Tory* too, according to the Caſe before him.

A *Presbyterian*, for Example, that deſires the Ruin of the Church of *England*, is certainly, in that reſpect, a *Whig*: But if this very *Presbyterian*, with all his Might, oppoſes the Attempts which ſome few of his Party wou'd make upon the Royal Authority, it cannot be deny'd that there he is a *Tory*.

So

So again; Whenever the Church is upon the Tapiſtry, the *Epiſcopalians* may all be reckon'd *Tories*, but what Numbers of them are there, that are *Whigs* in matters of Government? It is not Foreigners only that are perplexed upon this Subject; the *Engliſh* themſelves are the ſame: Nothing is more common than to hear a *Whig* accuſe all the *Tories* in general of having a Deſign to aboliſh the Rights and Privileges of the People; and to hear a *Tory* charge all the *Whigs* without diſtinction, with ſtriving to pull down Monarchy and Epiſcopacy.

Every one takes Advantage of the confuſion of Ideas, occaſion'd by the Appellations of *Whig* and *Tory*, to blacken his Adverſary with the moſt odious Faults any of the ſame Party are guilty of.

After having given as clear an Account as I was able of the two Parties, we muſt next examine their ſeveral Motives and Intereſts. If we will believe what each of them ſays of himſelf, nothing can be more juſt, more equitable, more reaſonable, than the Principles they act upon: They are guided wholly by the Glory of GOD, the Honour of the KING, the Good of the

Publick, the Benefit of the Nation. For my part, if I am allow'd to give my Opinion, private Intereſt is the firſt Mover of their Actions. Ever ſince the two Parties have been formed, every Man has labour'd aſſiduouſly to get the better of his Antagoniſts, becauſe from that Superiority flow Places, Honours, and Dignities, which the reigning Party diſtribute to their own Members, excluſive of the contrary Faction. This induced King *William*, to ſay, that if he had good Places enow to beſtow, he ſhou'd ſoon unite the two Parties.

There is another Way to procure that Union; which is, to confer all the good Poſts upon Gentlemen that are Neuter: But where wou'd it be poſſible to find enow of that Character, fit to hold the chief Offices? It is certain, they are but very few in Number. Yet ſome there are, who for their Capacity, their Impartiality, their Diſintereſt, merit a particular Diſtinction. I cou'd wiſh I knew them all, that I might be able to publiſh their Names, and give them ſome ſmall part of the Praiſes they juſtly deſerve: But theſe Noblemen that are ſo worthy to be known, are very little talk'd of in foreign Countries; becauſe, making their Court to neither of the two Parties, the Places ſeldom

fall

fall to their Share. Yet it ſometimes happens that the Miniſtry finds it ſelf in a manner obliged to ſearch out ſuch Noblemen, and to Honour them with the moſt eminent Dignities in the State. There is one particularly, who without having ever fawned upon the *Tory* or *Whig* Miniſtries, was choſen Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary at the Peace of *Ryſwick*, honour'd with the Order of the Garter, adorned ſucceſſively with the Poſts of Keeper of the Privy Seal, Preſident of the Council, High Admiral, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, tho' he never made the leaſt Intereſt to ſollicit thoſe great Employments. I ſpeak of the Earl of *Pembroke*, whoſe Reputation is better known than that of ſome other Noblemen of the ſame Character, whom my Silence ought in no wiſe to injure. Among all his other Virtues, his Integrity in the great Employments he has gone thro', deſerves more florid Elogiums than a Stranger can give, that has not the Honour of knowing him perſonally, nor of being known to him.

If there were in *England* a Dozen Lords of his Character, and they were put in poſſeſſion of the chief Poſts, it wou'd be an infallible Means to quell the two Parties at once. Then thoſe that put up for Places, wou'd make a Merit of eſpouſing no

Party,

Publick, the Benefit of the Nation. For my part, if I am allow'd to give my Opinion, private Intereſt is the firſt Mover of their Actions. Ever ſince the two Parties have been formed, every Man has labour'd aſſiduouſly to get the better of his Antagoniſts, becauſe from that Superiority flow Places, Honours, and Dignities, which the reigning Party diſtribute to their own Members, excluſive of the contrary Faction. This induced King *William*, to ſay, that if he had good Places enow to beſtow, he ſhou'd ſoon unite the two Parties.

There is another Way to procure that Union; which is, to confer all the good Poſts upon Gentlemen that are Neuter: But where wou'd it be poſſible to find enow of that Character, fit to hold the chief Offices? It is certain, they are but very few in Number. Yet ſome there are, who for their Capacity, their Impartiality, their Diſintereſt, merit a particular Diſtinction. I cou'd wiſh I knew them all, that I might be able to publiſh their Names, and give them ſome ſmall part of the Praiſes they juſtly deſerve: But theſe Noblemen that are ſo worthy to be known, are very little talk'd of in foreign Countries; becauſe, making their Court to neither of the two Parties, the Places ſeldom

fall

fall to their Share. Yet it ſometimes happens that the Miniſtry finds it ſelf in a manner obliged to ſearch out ſuch Noblemen, and to Honour them with the moſt eminent Dignities in the State. There is one particularly, who without having ever fawned upon the *Tory* or *Whig* Miniſtries, was choſen Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary at the Peace of *Ryſwick*, honour'd with the Order of the Garter, adorned ſucceſſively with the Poſts of Keeper of the Privy Seal, Preſident of the Council, High Admiral, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, tho' he never made the leaſt Intereſt to ſollicit thoſe great Employments. I ſpeak of the Earl of *Pembroke*, whoſe Reputation is better known than that of ſome other Noblemen of the ſame Character, whom my Silence ought in no wiſe to injure. Among all his other Virtues, his Integrity in the great Employments he has gone thro', deſerves more florid Elogiums than a Stranger can give, that has not the Honour of knowing him perſonally, nor of being known to him.

If there were in *England* a Dozen Lords of his Character, and they were put in poſſeſſion of the chief Poſts, it wou'd be an infallible Means to quell the two Parties at once. Then thoſe that put up for Places, wou'd make a Merit of eſpouſing no

Party,

Party, and this Impartiality wou'd ſoon extend from the Great Men to the People: But this is a Happineſs ſooner to be wiſh'd for than expected. Neutrality is ſo far from helping to advance Men of diſtinguiſh'd Merit, that, on the contrary, it does for the moſt part, infallibly exclude them from all Employments, becauſe the Miniſters, and the Heads of Parties, think of nothing but how to gratify their Creatures.

I ſaid, juſt now, that Intereſt is the chief Motive upon which the two Parties act; and this is but too apparent. If for Inſtance, the *Arbitrary Tories*, wiſh to ſee the King Abſolute; I very much doubt whether they do it with a View to procure the Good of the Kingdom; even tho' they be perſuaded, that a deſpotical Form of Government is the moſt perfect. If they only ſought the Publick Advantage, they would not be ſo violent and ſo aſſiduous.

The ſame may generally be ſaid of the other Branches of the two Parties. Every one wou'd have you believe, that he aims at nothing further than the National Benefit; while in truth, he ſeeks the enriching of Himſelf, his Family, and his Poſterity. But when, I ſay, that Intereſt is their chief Motive; I wou'd not be thought to ex-

exclude ſeveral other Motives beſides, which may affect as well the Heads as the Members of each Party. Some believe their Principles really tend to the Good of the Kingdom; others act out of a Religious Motive: Some thro' Revenge, a Spirit of Party, and for the Honour of obtaining the Victory.

There are an infinite Number of other Motives, of which it would be unneceſſary to give a particular Account, becauſe ſuch a Detail wou'd lead us into the Examination of the Conduct of private Perſons. Every Body knows, that ſeveral Men may drive at the ſame End, thro' various Motives. We had better examine into the Strength of the two Parties, and their ſeveral Intereſts. To do this, we muſt go regularly thro' the different Branches into which they are divided. I ſhall begin with the *Tories*.

It is at firſt very hard to believe that in ſuch a Country as *England*, where the Subject enjoys ſo many fine Privileges, of which other Nations are now deprived, there ſhou'd be a Set of People, that long to ſee the King inveſted with an unlimited Power. There are indeed but few that make open Profeſſion of being of the Party of thoſe whom I have called *Arbitrary Tories*. Yet it

is but too certain that there has always been ſuch a Party in *England*, and that it is ſtill ſubſiſting, tho' it is diſowned by moſt of thoſe that are engaged in it.

Can it be deny'd that there was ſuch a Party in the Reign of *Charles* the Iſt. The very Judges of the Kingdom, who are eſteem'd the Interpreters of the Law, decided, That in Caſes of Neceſſity, the King might impoſe Taxes upon the Subject; and that the the King himſelf was the only Judge of the Caſes wherein that Neceſſity lay. This was at once cutting away the beſt Privilege of Parliament, and the chief Cauſe of its frequent Conventions. If the King cou'd levy Money upon his People, without the Authority of that Aſſembly, we may be aſſured it wou'd be call'd much ſeldomer, and perhaps, at laſt, entirely laid aſide. And if there was no Parliament, what wou'd become of the Rights and Immunities of the People? In all probability they wou'd fare as they have done already in *France*, ſince the General States have been omitted to be conven'd.

Again, did not the Judges in the Reign of *James* the Second, compliment the King with a Power of diſpenſing with the Penal Laws?

Laws? Was not this granting him an abſolute Power?

Charles the Firſt, and *James* the Second, did alſo make long Strides towards a deſpotical Government, which they had never adventur'd to do, if they had not relyed upon the Support of a great Number of Partiſans.

Let any one reflect upon certain Steps taken by Queen *Anne* in the latter-end of her Reign; as for Example: The manner in which the Peace of *Utrecht* was treated, and concluded; the Creation of Twelve Peers at one Time; the Violences uſed in Elections of Members of Parliament; and he muſt confeſs, that they were ſo many Advances made towards an Abſolute Power, to which ſhe was inſtigated by the Party we are ſpeaking of. This proves there is ſuch a Party exiſting in the Kingdom: But as thoſe that are of it, dare not openly avow it, they hide themſelves under the Cloak of maintaining the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, to which they ſeem to confine themſelves, endeavouring to paſs for *moderate Tories*. But Favourites, or Miniſters of State, being generally the Leaders of the *arbitrary Tories*, they almoſt

conſtantly make themſelves by that means the Heads of all the *Tory* Party, and draw them in to go greater Lengths than they care for.

They begin with falling foul upon the Presbyterians; and this wheedles the *Eccleſiaſtical Tories* into their Meaſures, who know nothing of the Purpoſes it is deſigned they ſhall ſerve. Under colour of aiming only at the *Nonconformiſts*, they prevail upon the Parſons to Preach up the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, which leads directly to Tyranny. This makes the Party of *Arbitrary Tories* more Powerful than at firſt Sight it appears to be.

The great Art of that Party conſiſts in pulling the Church into the Scrape, by ſeeming wonderful Zealous for all her Rights. By this means they mingle themſelves with the *Eccleſiaſtical Tories*, (whoſe Number is very great) avoid allarming the *Moderate Tories*; and laſtly, lye ſnug, till they have drawn in all the Party to ſerve their private Ends. But with all their Caution and Artifice, they have the ill Luck never to be able to get to the end of their Race.

After

After having made themſelves the Heads of the whole *Tory* Party ; and after having led the *Moderate* and the *Eccleſiaſtical* part of them to one certain Point, by ſecret Turnings and Windings ; they are at laſt obliged to take ſome particular Steps which diſcover their whole Plot. Then they loſe great Numbers of their Friends, who not only leave them in the Lurch, but even joyn with the *Whig* Party.

A Proof of this was ſeen in King *James* the Second's Time, who found himſelf of a ſudden deſerted by all the World, at the very Time when he thought he had juſt attained the height of his Wiſhes.

If in the laſt Year of Queen *Anne*, the *Arbitrary Tories*, who govern'd in her Name, had proceeded to revoke the Act of Succeſſion (as they intended) it is exceedingly probable they would have met with the ſame Mortification ; and I don't at all doubt but the like Revolution will always happen upon the like Occaſion. The Reaſon is plain : It can be of Advantage but to very few *Engliſhmen*, to have a *Popiſh*, or an *Abſolute* King upon the Throne.

The Party, or Branch of *Moderate Tories*, is vaſtly more numerous than that of *Arbitrary Tories*. Whatever Advantage theſe latter may have by the Quality of their Leaders, the others are ſtill the more Powerful, becauſe they maintain a good Cauſe; I mean, the Conſervation of the King's juſt Prerogatives: This is an Intereſt which is properly the Intereſt of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, which muſt never expect to be Happy under any other Government beſides that which has been ſo many Ages eſtabliſhed in their Country.

This Branch of *Moderate Tories*, does alſo become more conſiderable every Time any Attempt is made to Extend, or Contract the Royal Power. If 'tis to Contract it, they are joyned by all the *Whigs*; if to Extend it, they have the Aſſiſtance of all the other *Tories*. Yet it ſometimes happens, that the Situation of Affairs, produces an Alteration as well in the Principles as in the Intereſts of that Party.

When the King favours the *Tories* in general; that is to ſay, when he gives them the Places and Employments, nothing can looſen the *Moderate Ones*, from his Intereſt: But

But if he leans to the other Side, they have not the ſame Affection for him. Then if they perceive that the *Whigs*, by way of prevention of future Uſurpations, which is pretty common with them, go about to leſſen ſome part of the Royal Prerogative, they do not much ſcruple to joyn them: But their Intent in this, is only to let the King know their Strength. This Artifice they often put in practice during the Reign of King *William*, who often chang'd his Miniſtries.

In general, the Intereſt of the *Moderate Tories* is to oppoſe the Attempts the *Whigs* might make againſt the King's Authority: Becauſe by this they keep up their Credit at Court, and among the People. But at the ſame time, they ought to be very Cautious, that under the ſpecious Colour of being of the ſame Name and Party, the *Arbitrary Tories* do not lead them further than they intend to go.

As for the *Eccleſiaſtical*, or *Church Tories*, we may eaſily judge that their Party takes in almoſt the whole Kingdom, ſince that Branch is compoſed of all the Members of the Church of *England*. So that when Religion is the Point in diſpute, between the

the *Whigs* and *Tories*, the former are by no means able to cope with their Adverſaries. From hence it proceeds, that the *Eccleſiaſtical Tories* are never afraid of ſhewing their Spleen againſt the *Presbyterian Whigs*, becauſe their Number gives them a great Superiority.

The Caſe is not the ſame with the *Preſbyterian Whigs*, who, even in the time of their greateſt Proſperity, dare not ſhew the leaſt Inclination of attacking the Church of *England*. They did it once, during the *Long Parliament*; and the *Tories* will never forget their having done ſo. They fancy the *Whig* Party to be an Enemy always ready to Sap the Foundations of their Church; and from what they have done once, draw Inferences of what they wou'd do again, if it lay in their Power. This is what makes them ſo ready to ſwallow the Suſpicions that are from Time to Time ſcatter'd among them, that *the Church is in danger*; and this the Reaſon of their being ſo eaſily blinded on that Side. Their Leaders know ſo well how to improve this Diſpoſition of theirs, that they never lay a Scheme, with relation to the State, but they are ſure to make the Church a Party concern'd. This is an infallible Means to keep the Party cloſe together; whereas

whereas they wou'd be terribly diſperſed abroad, here and there, if Government were all the Quarrel.

This was what won King *Charles* the Firſt abundance of Partiſans, which he had certainly been without, if the Parliament had not attack'd the Church of *England*.

By this Means too it was, that in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, the Duke of *York*, tho' a *Papiſt*, made himſelf the Head of the *Eccleſiaſtical Tories*, who gladly concurred with him in deſtroying their Enemies.

Every time King *William* took the *Whigs* into Play, the *Church Tories* were preſently full of diſmal Apprehenſions, for fear that Prince ſhou'd contrive the downfal of their Church.

The ſame Stratagem was uſed during the Firſt Years of Queen *Anne*, becauſe the Miniſtry were then *Whigs*, or *Moderate Tories*. Towards the End of the ſame Reign, the like chimerical Terrors brought the *Church Party* into the Meaſures of People who themſelves were viſibly without any Religion at all.

And

And laſtly, it was upon the ſame Pretence, that ſince King *GEORGE* has been upon the Throne, they call'd in a *Popiſh Pretender* to ſave the Church of *England* from the pretended Trains the wicked *Whigs* had laid under it. 'Tis therefore Religion that is the Strength of the *Tory* Party. It is moſt certain, that if they had not the Knack of getting aſtride upon the Church, to make themſelves look Great, the *Arbitrary Tories* wou'd appear to be in a very pitiful Plight, and the Difference between the *Moderate Whigs* and *Moderate Tories*, wou'd not make half the Diſturbance in the Kingdom that it now does.

It is true, that among the *Eccleſiaſtical Tories*, there are many who ſee through the Trick, by which the whole Party is engaged in a Ferment, which turns to the Account only of a few: Of this Number are thoſe I have called the *Mitigate*; among whom, are ſome that are poſſeſs'd of the Higheſt Dignities in the Church: But they are not the ſtrongeſt. The *Rigids* are much more numerous. This laſt Branch is made up of almoſt all the inferior Clergy, of ſome few Biſhops, of the Two Univerſities, and particularly

of

of *Oxford*, and these Bodies are attended by an infinite Number of Laymen. Of these *Rigids* consists *High-Church*; that is, a Church without the least Mixture of *Presbytery*. These Men are so bigotted to the minutest Ceremony in the Church of *England*, that they wou'd not give up the most insignificant Point; by which Obstinacy they shew, that they are not so much acted by a Zeal for Religion, as by a rancorous Party Spirit. And it is a common Maxim among them, that it is better to be even a *Papist* than a *Presbyterian*. Now, as the *Mitigate Churchmen*, tho' more moderate in their Sentiments, do nevertheless look upon the Hierarchy as a very essential Point, it is no wonder that the *Tories* shou'd all unite together to oppose the Prosperity of the *Whigs*, who have all the *Presbyterians* in their Party. 'Tis perhaps one of the Artifices of the *State Tories*, to have given, or at least to keep up the Name of *Tory*, in order to make a perplexed Mixture of several Interests of different Natures in the same Party; because that Perplexity is their main Support and greatest Advantage.

The *Papists* are also reckoned a Branch of the *Tories*, because they are attached to that Party. As they can never hope to make their Religion National but by Means of an absolute King, it is not surprizing that they should herd with the *Arbitrary Tories*. Indeed, this wou'd be no great Support to the *Tories*, if

they were no more than the *Papiſts* that are in *England*, who have neither Employments nor Votes in Elections ; but this Admiſſion of the *Papiſts* ties to the *Tory Intereſt* ſome Foreign Powers, that may be very uſeful to them upon certain Occaſions. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, they do hereby give their Adverſaries a Handle to blacken them with great Reproaches.

If the Heads of the *Tory Party* had nothing in View but to maintain the King's Prerogatives and the Rights of the Church of *England*, 'tis almoſt certain that Party wou'd be invincible, becauſe thoſe are the true Intereſts of of the Nation. But as they often make uſe of thoſe Pretences only to conceal other Deſigns that are incompatible with the Publick Good ; ſo ſoon as ever thoſe Deſigns are found out, their Adherents generally fall off, the Diviſion of their Members being the neceſſary Conſequence of ſuch a Diſcovery. This is what makes me of Opinion, that it is almoſt impoſſible they ſhou'd ever ſucceed in placing the Pretender upon the Throne, or in cloathing any King of their own Party with unlimited Power. This Judgment is founded upon its being neither the Intereſt nor the general Deſire of the Nation. It is for this Reaſon that they are ſo much in the Intereſts of *France* ; becauſe they find they ſhall ſtand in need of her Aſſiſtance. During the laſt War, every Defeat that Crown received, was a terrible Mortification to them, and they endeavoured

as much as they were able to depreciate the Importance of it; and of courſe, as ſoon as ever they got to the Helm of the Government, their firſt Care was to heal the Wounds ſhe had received; yet *France* is hardly potent enough to do their Work for them. *Great-Britain* is an Iſland which cannot be attack'd by Surprize; and while the King and Parliament are united, they can ſend ſuch Fleets to Sea, as *France* muſt never pretend to overcome.

The *Arbitrary Tories* therefore are to be regarded as a Party, that is not at all favoured by the preſent State of Affairs, and conſequently their beſt Way will be to remain in Inaction till Time offers them a fairer Opportunity of ſhewing themſelves. But it is not their Character to be Quiet; they can never be eaſy while they ſee themſelves excluded from all Offices of Honour and Profit, which in all Probability are the chief Objects of the Diſturbances they make. Yet it is certain, their being the frequent Occaſions of ſuch Diſturbances does them a great deal of Prejudice in the Minds of the People; and their turbulent Spirit makes the whole Body of the *Tories* odious, who are ſure to be charged with all the Faults and Diſorders committed by their Leaders: This even induces many to quit their Party.

As for the other three Branches of the *Tories*, namely, the *Moderate*, the *Rigids*, and the *Mitigate*, it would be Madneſs in the *Whigs* to

think of ruining them by violent Means; they could never effect it, without ſetting the whole Kingdom in an Uproar. They may indeed keep them out of publick Offices and Employments: But if ever they ſhould be ſo imprudent as to offer to meddle with the Church of *England*, they would run the Riſque of raiſing ſuch Storms as might deprive them of the Superiority they at preſent enjoy. Thus the Intereſt of the *Whigs* is to let the Church be at Peace, and they know it full well, as appears by their Conduct; tho' they have been often provoked, yet now they have the Power in their Hands, they don't ſeek at all to be revenged of the *Epiſcopalians*: On the contrary, their Aim is to ſeparate them, if poſſible, from the reſt of the *Tories*, by trying to convince them that they have no Deſign againſt the Church. If they effect this, their Victory over the *Arbitrary Tories* wou'd be certain. But theſe latter, who ſee what a home Blow this Conduct may give them, endeavour to prevent it, by drawing Religion conſtantly into the Diſpute, and by inſtilling into the People a continual Fear of the Deſigns of the *Whigs* againſt the Church of *England*.

After having ſhewn the Views, Strength and Intereſts of the *Tory Party*, we muſt now proceed to the four oppoſite Branches of the *Whigs*. As for the *Republicans*, they are very few in Number, and go downwards more and more every Day. There is not the leaſt likelihood

of

of their ever having ſuch another Opportunity as they had during the Troubles in the Time of K. *Charles* I.

I have already ſaid, that the chief Difference between the *Moderate Whigs* and the *Moderate Tories*, conſiſts in that theſe latter incline more to the Prerogatives of the the King, and the former to the Privileges of the Subject: But notwithſtanding this, they eaſily unite when the Nation is in Danger. If the *Moderate Whigs* had not ſo many *Presbyterians* among them, it might be hoped that the two Branches of *Moderate Tories* and *Moderate Whigs* would always remain united, as they ſeemed to be after the Death of King *William*. When, I ſay, the one inclines more to the King and the other more to the People, I do not relate what they ſay of themſelves, but what is really true. The two Parties on the contrary aver, that their ſole Intention is to maintain the Government in the Condition wherein it has been ſettled for ſeveral Ages: So that to hear them, one would think they never formed but one and the ſame Party. It is however but too certain, that this Diverſity of Inclination often obliges them to divide, tho' it is to be preſumed that their Meanings are equally good, and that they vary only in the Methods they make uſe of. Perhaps the one are ſomewhat too apprehenſive of the Royal Power, and the other not quite apprehenſive enough. But what contributes moſt to make them

them be looked upon as two different Parties, is Religion; becauſe one conſiſts wholly of Churchmen, and in the other there is a Mixture of *Presbyterians*. Now to be able rightly to diſtinguiſh the Intereſts of the Church from thoſe of the State, requires a Train of Thought which every Body is not capable of. Yet it may be aver'd, that even tho' we take the Branch of *Moderate Whigs* ſeparately and by itſelf, it is full as powerful as that of the *Moderate Tories:* But when they are joined together, they form a Party which nothing could reſiſt, if Religion did not interfere in the Diſpute. The chief Buſineſs of the *Moderate Whigs* therefore, is to aſſiſt the People as much as poſſible, in diſcerning the Intereſts of the Church from thoſe of the State; and for this Purpoſe, they ſhou'd uſe great Moderation, and ſhew great reſpect to the Clergy. They ought likewiſe by all means to avoid liſtening to the *Republican Whigs*, for fear of allarming the *Moderate Tories*, whoſe Aſſiſtance is often neceſſary to them. But on the other Hand, they muſt neglect no Means to break the Deſigns and Meaſures of the *Arbitrary Tories*, who are their real Adverſaries. 'Tis by purſuing this Scheme only, that they can maintain themſelves in Credit.

We come now to the *Whigs* I before called *Eccleſiaſtical*. Theſe are all *Presbyterians*, and are only a Wing of the Main Body of the *Whigs*, which conſiſts of the Church of *England*.

land. Yet even theſe *Presbyterians* may be divided into two Branches; the firſt is of *rigid Presbyterians*, who abſolutely reject, not only the Hierarchy of the Church, but alſo all the Ceremonies that are practis'd in the Church of *England.* Their Number is pretty conſiderable in *England*; but what adds greater Weight to them is, that all *Scotland* is for them. They are very zealous and hot for the Propagation of *Presbytery*, and it ſometimes happens, that the Heads of the *Whigs* (to ſatisfy their Importunity) are obliged to make certain Steps which prejudice their whole Party in the Minds of the People: 'Tis very eaſy to conceive, that the Intereſt of the *rigid Presbyterians*, is not that the Affairs of the Church ſhould remain upon the Foot they now ſtand; ſince it can be only by ſome great Revolution that their Religion muſt become National. Accordingly, they are looked upon as dangerous People, and are never ſet at the Head of the *Whig Party*, which they would conduct very ſcurvily.

Laſtly, There is another Branch of the *Eccleſiaſtical Whigs*, which comprehends the *Mitigate Presbyterians*, and alſo all the other Nonconformiſts, as *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, &c. who find more Support among the *Whigs*, than among the *Tories*; tho' at the Bottom their Junction is of no great Service to the Party. The *Mitigate Presbyterians*, who are much leſs ſcrupulous, leſs fiery, leſs obſtinate than the *rigid* ones, can with a ſafe Conſcience go to Church,

and

and even take the Sacrament there, if 'tis their Intereſt ſo to do. Indeed, if 'twere put to their Choice, they would be glad to ſee their own Religion uppermoſt; but they don't think 'twould be prudent to uſe violent Means to make it ſo. Theſe are certainly the moſt dangerous Enemies that the *Rigids* have; becauſe their moderate Conduct gives them no hold to accuſe them of deſigning the Subverſion of the Church of *England*. It was with a View to theſe, that the *Tories* made the Act to prevent *Occaſional Conformity*, in the laſt Year of Queen *Anne*. And by means of this Act, which is ſtill in Force, the *Presbyterians* are all effectually excluded from Honours and Offices; becauſe to hold a Place, it is not now enough, as it was formerly, to communicate once in the Church of *England*, but they muſt prove themſelves to be real Members of that Church, by going conſtantly thither, and to no Meeting whatſoever. The *Whigs*, who are now in Play, have it indeed in their Power to revoke that Act; but I believe, for the Reaſons which I have already inſinuated, they will hardly ever go about ſuch a Deſign, which would very much inflame the Minds of the People, and be of no particular Service to themſelves, who are of the Church of *England*.

The Strength of the two Parties being ſuch as I have related, and the Views and Intereſts of the different Branches being thus in Oppoſition; it ſeems eaſy to infer, that 'tis next to im-

impoſſible to place a Popiſh King upon the Throne, while the King and Parliament continue in Union, and abſtain from meddling with the Church. The *Arbitrary Tories* may indeed from time to time ſcatter Illuſions among the People, of the Church's being in Danger; but thoſe Illuſions can never laſt long, when they find that no Body really goes about to hurt the Church. If therefore Religion is unconcern'd, that is to ſay, if the *Epiſcopalians* do not fancy themſelves under a Neceſſity of trying the moſt violent Means to ſave their Church from Shipwreck; there will be but very weak Puſhes made in Favour of the Pretender. Every time an Attempt is made to place him upon the Throne, the *Moderate* and the *Mitigate Tories* will join the *Whigs*; and then that Party will become much too ſtrong for the *Arbitrary Tories*, even tho' all the *Rigids* ſhould declare for them; which yet is very unlikely: For we muſt not imagine, tho' ſome of thoſe *Rigids* make a great Stir and Noiſe, that all of the ſame Sect deſire to live under a Popiſh King. They are zealous for the Church, but that Church is Proteſtant; therefore that very Zeal will never ſuffer them to bring the Proteſtant Religion in danger of being deſtroy'd. Perhaps it may be ſaid, that *France* will aſſiſt the *Arbitrary Tories* to the utmoſt of her Power. This is what I can very hardly believe, for Reaſons which I ſhall open elſewhere. But even tho'

France ſhou'd ſeriouſly embark in ſuch an Undertaking; ſhe wou'd find it very difficult to be effected, becauſe of the Situation and Maritime Forces of *England*. Nothing but a Surprize can bring about what the *Arbitrary Tories*, the *Papiſts*, and ſome of the *Rigids* ſo earneſtly deſire. But it is very likely, the Attempt they have lately made will warn the King and Parliament to ſtand upon their Guard, for the future, againſt the like Enterprizes.

There is another Thing that will be a perpetual Obſtacle againſt the Eſtabliſhment of a *Popiſh King*: It is, that in *England* there is hardly any good Family but what is in Poſſeſſion of ſome of the Abby-Lands. The Anceſtors of the preſent Poſſeſſors either received them as a Preſent from the King, or purchaſed them at a very low Rate. If a *Popiſh King* were ſettled upon the Throne, it is hardly to be doubted, that he wou'd endeavour to his utmoſt Power, to give his own Religion the Superiority. What Danger then wou'd the Enjoyers of theſe Lands be in, if his Deſign ſhou'd ſucceed? It is exceeding probable they wou'd be deſpoiled of them. Nay, who knows, if they wou'd not be made to account for all the paſt Profits? It is therefore manifeſt, that the *Tories* and *Whigs* are equally concerned in Intereſt to prevent this Danger. If we were narrowly to examine into thoſe that are ſo hot for having a *Popiſh King*, we ſhou'd certainly find, either that they have none of thoſe Lands,

Lands, or that they have particular Reaſons to hope they will be made up to them another way.

We are now to give a yet more compleat Idea of the two Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*, by drawing both their Characters.

The *Tories* in general, are Supercilious and Haughty. They treat the *Whigs* with the utmoſt Contempt, and even with Rigour, whenever they are uppermoſt. As the *Tory Party* conſiſts moſtly of *Epiſcopalians*, who are the Body of the Nation; they look upon themſelves to be the reigning Party, and cannot bear the Equality, much leſs the Superiority of their Adverſaries. I cannot better compare the Behaviour of the *Tories* towards the *Whigs*, than to that of the *Papiſts* towards the *Proteſtants*, in thoſe Countries where the *Roman Catholicks* are the moſt numerous, and have the Support of the Government. 'Tis with great Regret that the *Tories* allow the *Presbyterians* even Liberty of Conſcience. When they are in Power, they never fail to prohibit their Aſſemblies, and exclude them from all Employments by Act of Parliament. The laſt Years of Queen *Anne* will afford moſt flagrant Inſtances of that Party's Fury.

They have alſo another Character: It is that they are prodigious hot, and drive on like Madmen. They have often deſtroyed their own Deſigns by that Fault. When they are in the Miniſtry, they puſh on their Schemes

with inconceivable Rapidity. Very remarkable Proofs of what I advance, may be ſeen in the Reign of *Charles* II. *James* II. and the late Queen. Yet it muſt be owned, that this Rapidity is not always to be aſcribed to the Heat of their Paſſion, but that ſometimes it is grounded upon Policy. As the *Arbitrary Tories*, who are generally at the Head of the Party, do often enter into Projects of changing the Conſtitution; they are obliged to make a quick Uſe of the Opportunities that offer, becauſe thoſe Opportunities are of a Nature not to laſt long. For Example, in the Reign of *Charles* II. it was neceſſary to oppreſs the *Whig Party* as faſt as poſſible; for fear the King, who had been with Difficulty brought into the Plot that was to be wholly for the Advantage of others, and not at all of himſelf, ſhou'd change his Mind, Beſides, they had no Time to loſe; for they very well knew that the *Whigs* were inceſſantly employ'd in ſhewing the People the true Aim that the Court ſhot at. So again, when *James* II. aſcended the Throne, his preſumptive Heir was his eldeſt Daughter, *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange*, who was very zealous for the Proteſtant Religion. Thus, if the King ſhould die without Male Iſſue, all his Projects had vaniſhed away in Smoke at his Deceaſe, if he did not compleat the Work while he lived. It was therefore neceſſary to be quick; becauſe it was not likely they ſhou'd have ſuch another

Op-

Opportunity after that Prince's Death. For the ſame Reaſon, as Queen *Anne* was Childleſs when ſhe put the Miniſtry into the Hands of the *Arbitrary Tories*; it behoved them to make Peace with *France* immediately, and to take the ſpeedieſt Meaſures to ſettle the Crown upon the Pretender, for fear ſhe ſhou'd die before all their Projects were brought to Perfection; as indeed ſhe did. It was undoubtedly with this View that they made ſuch a precipitate Peace, in order to procure the Aſſiſtance of *Louis* XIV. which was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to finiſh their Work. It is very probable, if the Queen had lived but a little longer, the Act of Succeſſion had been revoked. But this Precipitation, which ſeems ſo unavoidable in the *Tories*, is on the other Hand very prejudicial to them, in that it diſcovers too ſoon their Leaders Deſigns, which are ſuch as ſhou'd be executed but by little and little, and not ſuddenly and with Violence. They can never ſucceed to their Wiſh, till they have a long and peaceful Reign, a King that favours their Schemes, and one of a very artful Capacity, or at leaſt that gives himſelf wholly and blindly up to their Counſels.

Another Character of the *Tories* is, that they change their Principles according as their Party is uppermoſt, or undermoſt. When they have a King on their Side, they cry up Might and Main the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*; and affirm, that the Subjects muſt obey their King, with-

without daring to examine the Legality of his Commands; becauſe, at that Time, they wou'd fain perſuade the *Whigs* to ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſed, without Reſiſtance. But when the Government is in the Hands of the contrary Party, then they huſh that Doctrine, or quite bury it in Oblivion. Thus, in all the *Tory Authors* that have wrote concerning the Troubles in the Reign of *Charles* I. the ſame Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* is laid down as a certain and inconteſtible Principle. This they did becauſe their chief Purpoſe was to repreſent, as a moſt horrible Rebellion, the Meaſures the Parliament took to defend themſelves, and oppoſe the Deſigns of the King. When the *Presbyterians* were perſecuted in the Reign of *Charles* II. nothing was to be heard in all Parts, but *Paſſive Obedience, Paſſive Obedience.* But this was nothing to what was preached in the Reign of *James* I. I remember to have often heard the Conſequences of this Principle puſhed on in the Pulpit as far, if not farther than ever they were in *France* in the Reign of *Louis* XIV. They inſiſted mightily upon a certain Canon of a Synod of the Church of *England*, which defines, *That the Subjects who take up Arms againſt the King, upon any Pretence whatſoever, make themſelves guilty of Treaſon, and that whether they attack, or whether they only defend themſelves, St.* Paul *plainly tells them, that they ſhall thereby gain to themſelves Damnation.* But the Synod in which this Canon

Canon was made, was held under Archbiſhop *Laud*, at the Time when *Charles* I. was in Poſſeſſion of *Abſolute Power*, a little before the beginning of the Troubles. But when King *William* was upon the Throne, the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* lay quiet, becauſe the *Tories* did not look upon the King to be their Friend. There was no talk of it neither in the firſt Years of the Queen, who had put the Miniſtry into the Hands of the *Moderate Whigs*, and the *Moderate Tories*. Afterwards, this Doctrine was trump'd up again by Dr. *Sacheverell*, when the Queen had given her ſelf into the Management of the *Arbitrary Tories*. But ſince King GEORGE has been upon the Throne, the *Arbitrary Tories* and the *Rigids* have convinced all the World, that they never admit this Doctrine, but when they are back'd by a King after their own Heart; and that they make no Scruple to reject it, when the Government is againſt them. But they have a Diſtinction always ready to anſwer this Objection, between a *King de Jure*, and a *King de Facto*; and they aver, 'tis to the *King de Jure* that they owe their Obedience; and he that favours them is always ſure to be *King de Jure*, whether he is actually upon the Throne, or has only ſome vain Pretenſions to it.

Let us now proceed to the Character of the *Whigs*. Thoſe of that Party, that are of the Number of the *Rigid Presbyterians*, are a ſtubborn heady People, that perhaps wou'd be no leſs fiery and paſſionate than the *Tories*, if they

they were at the Helm. But as theſe have not had the Direction of the Party ever ſince the long Parliament, it is not upon them that we are to form the general Character of the *Whigs*; whereas that of the *Tories* muſt be drawn from the *Arbitrary Tories* and the *Rigids*, who are their Heads and Leaders.

Thoſe that are at the Head of the *Whig Party* are much more *Moderate* than the Heads of the *Tories*. Beſides, they commonly act upon fixed Principles, from which they never vary, except when they are obliged to do ſomething for the *Presbyterians*, to keep them tight. Far from going about to carry Things with a high Hand, as the *Tories* do, they make to their Point by ſlow Steps, without Paſſion and without Violence. Their greateſt Trouble is to repreſs the Warmth of ſome among them, who, if they had their Will, would put all into Confuſion. By this *Moderation* they endeavour gently to convince the People, that they have no ill Deſign againſt the Church of *England*; in order to ſeparate the *Church Tories* from the *Arbitrary Tories*. As it is the Intereſt of the *Tories* to confound all the Branches of their Party, that they may unite them into one Body, under the Direction of their Leaders; it is that of the *Whigs*, on the contrary, to inable Men to make a Diſtinction between thoſe different Claſſes, in order to prevent the *Epiſcopalians* from helping on the Deſigns of the *Arbitrary Tories*. But they cou'd never effect this,

this, if they try'd to do it by Violence. Therefore, the Slowneſs and Moderation of the *Whigs* is no leſs grounded upon Policy, than the Precipitation and *Fury* of the *Tories*.

The *Whigs* are accuſed of being very greedy of Riches and Honours, and of not giving ſuitable Rewards to their Adherents; which often makes their Friends drop off and forſake them. I have nothing to ſay to this Point, not being ſufficiently informed of the particular Affairs of the Party. Beſides, the diſcuſſion of this Charge muſt lead me into an Examination of the Conduct of the Perſons who think themſelves neglected; which I would willingly avoid; my Deſign being to confine my ſelf to general *Ideas*. And be this as it will, it may be ſaid in praiſe of the *Moderate Whigs*, that in the main they defend a good Cauſe, namely, the Eſtabliſhed Conſtitution of the Government. Indeed they have ſometimes erred through an Exceſs of Diſtruſt and Precaution. This has led them into Meaſures that were contrary to their true Intereſts and their ſettled Principles; having upon certain Occaſions, extended the Rights of the Subject and of the Parliament to the expence of the Regal Authority.

As for the *Eccleſiaſtical Whigs* who are no other than the *Presbyterians*, all that can be ſaid relating to to them, is, that they are greatly prejudiced againſt Epiſcopacy and all

the reſt of the Hierarchy of the Church. The Queſtion is, whether this Prejudice is well grounded; or whether, even if it is, that is a reaſonable Cauſe of Separation? As for my particular, I look upon this Diſpute to be of but little importance. For this Reaſon, I cannot approve of the *Rigidity of the Presbyterians*, in a Country where the Reformation is Eſtabliſhed after the Manner it is in *England*, ſince there is no difference between the two Churches in Matters of Faith and in Eſſentials. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Epiſcopalians* in *Scotland*; and perhaps even in *England*, more Condeſcention ought to be ſhewn to the Scruples of the *Presbyterians*. But this is only my private Opinion; which I do not pretend to give as a Rule either to one or t'other.

Before we proceed any farther, it will not be improper to prevent an Objection which may naturally enough ariſe upon what has been ſaid; it is, that all things being directed in *England* by the Parliament, thoſe Junctions which I mentioned, either of the different Branches of the ſame Party, or of the Branches of two different Parties, ſeem to be of no Service, unleſs they are made in the Parliament itſelf, among the Members of that Body. But thoſe Junctions are ſo far from taking Place in the Parliament, that on the contrary one of the two Parties generally prevails there ſo much, that the Confederacies made among the other Members are totally uſeleſs. To

To this I anſwer, firſt, that the Parliament conſiſting of two Houſes, whereof that of Lords is always fixed, and not capable of receiving any conſiderable Alterations; theſe Junctions may take Place in that Houſe, whoſe Principles are leſs variable than thoſe of the Commons. Now, as the Houſe of Lords have a Right of rejecting the Bills that are ſent up from the Houſe of Commons; it follows, that the Houſe of Lords, by ſuch Junctions, can break the Meaſures of the Houſe of Commons: And conſequently thoſe Junctions may produce great Effects.

Secondly, theſe Unions may take Place in the Elections of Members of Parliament. For Example, if there is any Suſpicion that a Deſign is form'd of ſetting a Popiſh King upon the Throne, the *Moderate* and the *Mitigate Tories* my joyn with the *Whigs*, to chuſe Members who they are ſure will oppoſe the Meaſures they are apprehenſive of, and by that Means fruſtrate the Hopes of the *Arbitrary Tories* and the *Rigids*.

Thirdly, there is no Reaſon to doubt that in a Houſe of Commons, conſiſting even of a Majority of *Tories*, the *Moderate* and the *Mitigate* among them, if they had notice that a Deſign was in Hand which might be prejudicial to the Nation, would joyn the *Whigs*, to hinder it from taking Effect. The *Moderate Whigs* might likewiſe join the *Tories*, if they ſaw the Republican Party grew two powerful.

It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that a Spirit of Party, the Cabals of their Leaders, the Intrigues of the Court, the Intereſts of private Men, have but two much influence over the Deliberations of that Aſſembly, which repreſents the *Engliſh* Nation. To ſay all in one Word, the Parliament conſiſts of Men not exempt from Paſſions. To make the Parliament come up to the *Idea* that is conceived of it by thoſe who are not thoroughly acquainted with that Aſſembly, would require ſo many Men entirely Perfect. But as this is impoſſible, it would at leaſt be prudent to reform certain Abuſes, for which a proper Remedy either has not been found, or not duly ſought. Tho' this leads me a little wide of my Subject, yet I ſhall dwell a Moment upon it, and be bold to point out a Few of thoſe Abuſes. This will at leaſt help to give a more extenſive Notion of the Government of *England*, which, tho' excellent in its Nature, is however ſubject to ſome Imperfections.

The firſt Abuſe conſiſts in the too great Influence the Court has ſometimes had in Elections of Members of Parliament, and conſequently in the Deliberations of Parliament. The Cauſe is eaſily aſſigned; It is the Diviſion that reigns between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*, which gives the King a Power that he certainly would not have, if all the People were united. One of the Parties

is

is no ſooner got into the Miniſtry, but they procure the Lieutenancies of the Counties, and all the Places in the Gift of the Court for Perſons that are devoted to their Intereſt. Afterwards they call a new Parliament *. Then, beſides the Money which the Miniſtry, if we may believe the general Report, privately diſtributes; thoſe that are in Authority in the Cities, Towns and Counties, uſe all their Credit and Cunning to get Members elected that may favour the Court, and give its Party the Superiority of Voices in the Houſe of Commons. We may make Judgment of the Effects of theſe Intrigues from this one Conſideration; that a *Tory Miniſtry* may almoſt conſtantly depend upon getting a *Tory* Parliament, and a *Whig* Miniſtry a *Whig* Parliament. However, this Poſition is not ſo infallible, but that ſometimes there is a Majority againſt the Court. But that never happens, except when there is in the Kingdom a general Perſwaſion, that the Court has Deſigns pernicious to the State and to the Liberty of the Subject. I ſay nothing of the Creation of Twelve Peers in the laſt Reign all at one time, only with a view to give the Court a plurality of Voices in the Houſe of Lords. That was ſuch an Abuſe

* The Reader we doubt not will have his Eye upon the Years 1710. *&* *ſeq.* and he will be convinced the Author does not ſpeak without good Grounds.

as was plain to the meaneſt Capacity, and of very dangerous Conſequence.

The ſecond Abuſe conſiſts, in that there are little Villages which have a Right to ſend Members to Parliament; and the Votes of thoſe Members go for as much as thoſe of the Members for *London* or *Weſtminſter*, notwithſtanding the vaſt diſproportion there is between the Electors of the one and the Electors of the other. It is in theſe Villages, Hamlets and inconſiderable Towns, that the Court often procures the Election of Members that have not an Inch of Land near the Place for which they ſerve. Some pretend, that theſe Places have a Right as ancient as the Parliament it ſelf, even from the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*. Others think it much more Modern. But, be that as it will, it is at preſent no ſmall Abuſe that Hamlets, conſiſting perhaps of but four or five Thatcht Houſes, ſhould have as much Power in Parliament as the greateſt Cities in the Kingdom.

There is a third Abuſe of great Conſequence, and which ought particularly to be reformed, ſince it is in ſome meaſure contrary to *Magna Charta*, whereon the *Engliſh* found their Liberties and Privileges. In this Charter, King *John* engages, in expreſs terms, for himſelf and Succeſſors, never to call a Parliament, without giving at the ſame time the Cauſes of its Meeting. While this Cuſtom was obſerved, the Parliament conſulted

but

but upon few Affairs, for which the Members were prepared beforehand; and the Parliament ſate but a few Days. If this was ſtill continued, the Towns and Counties might give their Members Inſtructions upon the Affairs for which the Parliament was called, or at leaſt chuſe Members that were of the ſame Sentiments with thoſe that ſend them. But, now, ſeveral Abuſes ariſe from the Neglect of this one Article. Firſt, the Seſſions laſt as long as the King pleaſes, and he can put an End to them whenever he thinks fit. *Henry* IV. made good uſe of this Advantage, by keeping a Parliament continually ſitting, till they granted him the Subſidy he asked. Secondly, the Electors, not knowing the Matters which are to be handled in Parliament, are obliged to give their Members an unlimited Power. From hence ariſes another Abuſe, That often the Members are of a different Mind from thoſe that ſend them. It may therefore happen, and has often happened, that the Houſe of Commons may come to Reſolutions directly contrary to the Meaning of the People, which it repreſents. Thus it is not the People, or Commons of *England*, that ſhare the Legiſlative Power with the King and Peers; but their Members enjoy a Privilege due only to the People in general, to whom nevertheleſs they give no Account of their Conduct. All the Harm that can come to them, if they have

have not followed the Intent of their Electors, is not to be choſe again. So that there ſeems to be too great a Power allowed to meer Deputies. There was a different Conduct obſerved in *France*, when the general States of the Kingdom were convened. Every Province prepared beforehand its Cahiers, or particular Inſtructions; from which it was not lawful for the Deputies to vary. In like manner, when any Affair of Importance is to be deliberated upon in the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, the Deputies receive their Inſtructions from their Provinces; and in the particular States of each Province, the Magiſtrates of Towns give their Orders and Inſtructions to their Deputies.

A Fourth Abuſe conſiſts in the Brigues uſed in the Time of Elections with exceſſive Expences. There are ſome Gentlemen that ſpend many Thouſand Pounds Sterling to get themſelves elected; and that too in the Sight and Knowledge of the whole World.

Laſtly, there is another kind of Abuſe in the Houſe of Commons, in the Members being ſuffered to go, to come, to abſent themſelves, juſt as they pleaſe, except upon certain great Occaſions; ſo that of five Hundred and thirteen Members, which if I am not deceived there ought to be in that Houſe, ſometimes there are not a Hundred and Fifty. This makes the Deſigns of either Party much more eaſily brought about than if the Houſe were com-

compleat. Beſides, there are ſeveral Members, who tho' at *London*, do not conſtantly attend the Buſineſs of the Houſe, but ſtay away upon any inconſiderable Affair of their own. This puts me in mind of a Story with which I ſhall conclude this Digreſſion. A *Whig Member* one day upbraided one of the ſame Party, that if he had been at the Houſe that Morning, they had carry'd a Point of Conſequence; this latter asked him coldly, how many they had loſt it by? The other anſwered, but by One: He reply'd, that if he had been there, they had loſt it by Four, becauſe then there had been Four *Tory Members* more in the Houſe, whom he had detained on purpoſe all that Morning at a Tavern.

I have now only a Word or two to ſay, concerning the Intereſts of the neighbouring States, with relation to the two Parties of *Whigs* and *Tories*. Tho' the Differences between theſe two Parties ſeem to concern *England* only, yet they have indeed a very great Influence over the Affairs of other Nations. The Peace of *Utrecht* has ſhewn us what a Turn they may give to the Circumſtances of all *Europe*.

Every Body knows that the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, are Friends and Adherents to the *Whigs*; and it is not without Reaſon that they are ſo, for the *Whigs* have always promoted their Intereſts in *England*. It was the *Whigs* that obliged *Charles* II. to make

Peace with *Holland*, when he was in League with *Louis* XIV. againſt them. Ever ſince that Time they have always looked upon the Intereſts of *Holland* to be almoſt their own. And, in return, they have received great Services from the *States General*, particularly in the Aſſiſtance they gave the Prince of *Orange* to break the Meaſures of King *James*. This Friendſhip has been ever ſince preſerved, and even encreaſed. The Reaſon of it is plain: It is, that *France*, the everlaſting Foe to *Holland*, has conſtantly ſupported the *Tories*; from whence it follows, that the *Dutch* are obliged to ſide with the *Whigs*, ſince they can never hope for any Aſſiſtance from *England*, but thro' their Means. This is ſo manifeſt, that it requires no Examples.

For the ſame Reaſon the Emperor, as Sovereign of the *Netherlands*, ought to be a Friend to the *Whigs*: As he cannot look upon the King of *France* to be any other than a very dangerous and a very formidable Neighbour, he muſt not expect Aid from the *Engliſh*, in caſe his Country is invaded, unleſs the *Whigs* are in the Miniſtry. According to all Appearances, the *Tories* would make no great Efforts to defend the *Netherlands* againſt the Attacks of *France*. But if it ſhould happen that thro' an Exceſs of Zeal for his Religion, the Emperor ſhould lend his Aſſiſtance to raiſe the Pretender to the Throne of *England*; what wou'd he get by ſo doing, but the making

making of *France* yet more potent, and throwing into the Balance of *Europe* a Weight which at once wou'd ſink it all to one ſide?

The Intereſts of *France*, with reference to the two Parties of *Whigs* and *Tories*, require a great deal more Conſideration. It is certain, in general, the Intereſt of that Crown, is to preſerve a good Intelligence with *England*. Ever ſince the mighty Growth of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that is, for about two Hundred Years, *England* has been able to incline the Balance either to the Side of that Houſe, or to the Side of *France*, as ſhe pleas'd. But her conſtant Intereſt has been to keep thoſe two Powers in an Equality. This is the Pin on which all the Policy of the Kings of *England* has turned for theſe two Centuries. If *Henry* the VIIIth did ſometimes vary from it, that is to be aſcribed to the private Intereſts of Cardinal *Wolſey*, or to his own Caprice. So that it has always been the Buſineſs of *France* to keep in with *England*. Accordingly, the Politicks of *Louis* the XIVth, for Fifty two Years, lay in two Points; either to draw *England* into his Quarrel, or at leaſt to keep her from embracing that of his Enemies. But as that Monarch did not find it eaſy to perſuade the *Engliſh* that it was their Advantage to aggrandize his Power; he confined himſelf to hinder them from taking Part at all in the Affairs of *Europe*, that he might be free to act without meeting with any Oppoſition from them. But

it muſt be remembred, that this Policy had a View to the great Deſign he had formed againſt the Liberty of *Europe*. Had it not been for that, he might have been totally unconcerned what the *Engliſh* had reſolved upon. To ſet this Matter in a clear Light, it will not be improper to relate, in a few Words, what has been that Monarch's Conduct, with reference to *England*.

The World is not now to be told that *Louis* XIV. had laid a Scheme to ſet up an univerſal Monarchy in *Europe*. As he knew that it was the Intereſt of *England* to keep the Balance of *Europe* in an *Equilibrium*, and that the *Engliſh* eſteemed this Maxim as the chief Foundation of their own Security; he had juſt cauſe to fear they wou'd oppoſe the Execution of his Deſigns. To prevent this, he uſed all his Skill to bring *Charles* II. into his Intereſts, when he had fixed upon a War with *Holland*, in 1672. *Charles*'s Miniſters were all *Tories*, and it was by their Means he induced that Prince to enter into a League with him. But that League was of very ſhort Duration; It was ſo evidently contrary to the true Intereſt of *England*, that the Parliament obliged the King to make Peace with *Holland*, and had conſtrained him even to declare againſt *France*, if the Hopes of a ſpeedy Peace between that Crown and the *States-General* had not ſtop'd them from proceeding ſo far.

The

The Peace of *Nimeguen*, concluded in 1678, did not interrupt the Proſecution of the King of *France*'s Deſigns. But as he now was convinced that King *Charles* would not have it in his Power to follow his own Inclinations, he reſolv'd to try another Way to put *England* at leaſt out of a Condition to concern her ſelf in the Affairs of *Europe*. This Way was to ſtir up the Diviſions in that Kingdom, in order to keep the *Engliſh* employed at Home. The Projects of the Duke of *York*, the Weakneſs of the King in following his Counſels, the Choice of certain hot, and perhaps corrupt Miniſters, were in all Appearance the Effects of *Louis*'s Intrigues in *England*. This Method ſucceeded to his Wiſh. The *Conſpiracy* diſcovered by *Titus Oates*; the pretended *Proteſtant Plot*; the Perſecution of the *Presbyterians*; the People's Diſcontents; the Differences between the King and the Parliament, kept the *Engliſh* ſo fully employ'd at Home, that they cou'd not give the leaſt Attention to Affairs Abroad. In the mean while *Louis* the XIVth made himſelf dreadful to all *Europe*; becauſe he had nothing to fear from the Part of *England*, which remained in Inaction, when ſhe ought to have exerted all her Vigour to put a Stop to the Career of *France*.

James II. ſucceeding to the Throne, *Louis* continued the Artifice which had been ſo uſeful to him. He now ſolicited the new King of *England* to execute the Projects he had formed,

ed, being Duke of *York*, in favour of *Arbitrary Government* and the *Popiſh Religion*. He knew theſe two Articles were ſufficient to furniſh *England* with Buſineſs enough to laſt a great while; yet, as his only Aim was to perplex the *Engliſh* with domeſtick Troubles, he never gave King *James* any conſiderable Support. It was not for his Intereſt to have that Prince compleat his Deſigns too ſpeedily. When he ſaw him upon the Point of being attacked by the Prince of *Orange*, he did not ſtir a Step in his Defence. On the contrary, he laid hold of that Opportunity to carry the War into *Germany*. He thought he might be poſitive that the Diſturbances he had raiſed in *England*, wou'd for a long while tie up that Nation's Hands from oppoſing his Ambition, which was all he deſired. Afterwards, when King *William* had declared War againſt him, he ſent King *James* into *Ireland*, with ſeven Thouſand Men; a Succour far from ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh him upon the Throne, but conſiderable enough to make a Diverſion, and feed the Hopes of the *Jacobites*. Thus the whole Courſe of *Louis* the XIVth's Conduct ſhews, that he never intended any Thing farther than to foment Diviſions and Troubles in *England*; and that King *James* was only a Tool to do his Work. Yet it ſhould ſeem at firſt View, that it had been very advantageous to *Louis* to have reſtored that Prince; but it is moſt certain it could not be his Intereſt to

ſuffer

ſuffer a King of *England* to be at Peace at Home. The Reaſon of this is manifeſt: for it being the Intereſt of *England* to hold the Balance of *Europe* with a ſteddy Hand; *Louis*, who had laid vaſt Schemes, very plainly foreſaw that a King of *England*, uninterrupted by domeſtick Diſtractions, will infallibly adhere to that Intereſt, or be obliged to do ſo. Therefore it was that *Louis* the XIVth was contented with throwing *England* into Diſputes at Home, and with maintaining an Intelligence for that Purpoſe with the Leaders of the *Tory Party*; which Intelligence openly appeared in the latter Years of Queen *Anne*.

It ſeems therefore, that it is the Intereſt of a King of *France* to preſerve a good Correſpondence with the *Tories*, in order to foment Diſturbances in *England* by their Means. This is exactly true, when he has any Projects againſt the reſt of *Europe*. But if his ſole Intention is to live in Peace, and only to be able to defend himſelf in caſe he is attacked; nothing can be more advantageous to him than to cultivate the Friendſhip of the King of *England*, according to the conſtant Maxim of *Louis* the XIVth's Predeceſſors; whether the Miniſtry be *Whig* or *Tory*. In the State *France* has been in for ſeveral Years, ſhe may be ſaid to be invincible, while *England* forbears to declare againſt her. But if the King of *England* is provoked to make a new League with *Holland* and *Germany*, the Experience of the laſt

laſt War convinces us, that *France* is very far from being invincible. We may therefore venture to affirm, that if the illuſtrious Prince who now governs that Kingdom, does not intend to purſue the vaſt Deſigns of Louis the XIV. it is not at all his Intereſt to inflame the Confuſions of *England*, which may be ſo far from being advantageous to him, that they may turn extreamly to his Prejudice†. I confeſs, that in the indirect Succours given to the Pretender from *France*, the Duke Regent has made a Step which ſeems contrary to the Maxim I lay down. Time perhaps may let us into the Secret of that Policy. But, in the mean while, I cannot help ſuſpecting, that he has been miſinformed as to the true Condition of the two Parties in *England*, and that he has truſted too much to inconſiderate and mercenary People. Perhaps the Pretender himſelf is very much deceived in the Account that is given him of the Strength of his own Party.

I have but one Obſervation more, to conclude what I have to ſay of the *Whigs* and the *Tories*. It is, that when I ſpoke of their different Views, of their Intereſts, and Cha-

† What the Author ſays of the Intereſt of *France* with Relation to the *Whigs* and *Tories* being out of time, ſince the Alliance concluded between *England*, *Holland*, and that Crown, and ſigned *January* 4. 1717. it is neceſſary to inform the Reader that this Diſſertation was finiſhed in the Month of *February*, 1716.

racters,

racters, I did by no means pretend to include every particular Person engaged in either Party, but only their Heads and Leaders, with some of the most active on both Sides. Tho' all the People are ranged, either by Inclination or Interest, under these two Factions, yet it does not follow that every one of them acts upon the Views I have ascribed to them. It is certain that most of them suffer themselves to be led they know not whither, without examining into the Tendency of the Steps they are made to take; and consequently, they dive very little into the Intrigues and Cabals wherein their Leaders are incessantly busied. A Man perhaps has drawn himself in to be a *Tory*, by being very zealous for the Church of *England*; and in Time (without knowing which way) this Man finds himself engaged to maintain the Principles of the *Arbitrary Tories* and *Rigids*, tho' contrary to his Inclination. It is not to be doubted but there is an infinite Number of good *Englishmen* who groan to see their Country thus torn and disfigured, and who wou'd gladly embrace all Expedients to heal her Divisions: But it is no easy thing to keep in an exact Neutrality, because it is no easy thing to be without Ambition and without Avarice. Those that are Neuter (as I said before) have neither Places nor Honours; because there is always one Party uppermost, which has nothing more at Heart than advancing its own Friends, or winning over some of the opposite Party. Of

consequence there can be no Places left for Persons from whom the reigning Party can hope for no Service. Besides, how can any one stand Neuter between two Parties, each whereof accuses his Antagonist of designing such Mischiefs as are capable of striking Terror into the Heart of Man; namely, the Ruin of the Established Religion, and the Dissolution of a Government, which they think the only One under which a Subject can live happy? He must be very insensible that is not moved at such Dangers, and endeavours not to prevent them, after he is convinced they are real.

We are not therefore to blame all the *English* for these Unnatural Divisions; but only those that foment them for their particular Ends. Who are those that wou'd vest the King with *Absolute Power?* Who are those that wou'd deprive Free Subjects of *Liberty of Conscience?* Who, lastly, are those that do their Endeavours to bring in *Popery?* Can we say these are the Views of private Persons, of all the *Tories?* No certainly: But they are those of their Leaders, who for their own Profit seduce the poor People, and without a Scruple, engage their Country in the Danger of a Civil War.

It may be positively affirmed, it is not the Interest of the Kingdom that one of the Parties shou'd become so superior as to meet with no Contradiction. If it were the *Arbitrary Tories*,

they wou'd bring *England* under a Deſpotick Government: If the *Moderate Tories*, their Inclination to the Prerogatives of the Crown, will at length enable the Sovereign to undertake what he pleaſes, and to ſhake off the troubleſome Yoke of Parliaments: If the *Papiſts*, *England* will quickly loſe her Religion and Liberty. On the other Hand, if the *Republican Whigs* regain the Advantage they have loſt, there will be no longer talk of the *Kingdom*, but of the *Republick* of *England*, as in the Time of *Cromwell*. Laſtly, if the *Moderate Whigs* might carry Matters how they pleaſed, they wou'd take ſo many Precautions againſt the Increaſe of the Royal Power, that they wou'd perhaps reduce the King to the Condition of a Doge of *Venice*.

As for the Extreams of the two Parties in Point of *Religion*, it is certain, that if ever the *Presbyterians* have it in their Power to act without Oppoſition, they will not be ſatisfy'd till they have totally deſtroyed *Hierarchy*, and in general, the whole Church of *England*. But, again, if the *Rigid Epiſcopalians* had no Counterpoize to their Power, nothing leſs is to be expected than an open Perſecution of *Presbyterians*: And we know not whether they wou'd allow them ſo much as a bare Liberty of Conſcience.

It is certain, the true Good and Advantage of the Kingdom is not to be found in any of the Views which the Heads of the Two Parties ſeem

to

to have an Eye to. The only Method that can in Time reſtore Peace and Tranquility, is to let the Government remain upon its Ancient Foundations, and the Church in the Condition wherein the *Reformation* placed it. It is alſo neceſſary to give Toleration to the Scruples of the *Preſbyterians*, who are very numerous in the Kingdom. If this Method is not obſerved, it will always be ſafer for the State, that the Diviſion ſhou'd continue as it is at preſent, than that one of the Parties ſhou'd enjoy a Superiority, which wou'd be more fatal to the Publick, than the Equality their Diſcord keeps them in. Nothing (I think) can put an end to this Kind of inteſtine War, but the Prudence of a juſt and equitable KING, moderate in his Deſires, of few Paſſions, a Lover of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and who makes it his whole Study to procure the Good and Happineſs of his Subjects. This we may juſtly hope for, from the PRINCE that now fills the Throne; ſince he poſſeſſes all theſe Virtues in an eminent Degree. May the Almighty GOD ſhower down Bleſſings on his Deſigns, and grant that he may live to ſee with his own Eyes the happy Effects of his Cares.

FINIS.